

**ILLUSTRATIONS
OF SHAKSPEARE,
AND OF ANCIENT
MANNERS:
WITH...**





James Cunningham

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ILLUSTRATIONS
OF
SHAKSPEARE,
AND OF
ANCIENT MANNERS;

WITH
DISSERTATIONS
ON THE CLOTH AND PROSE OF SHAKSPEARE; ON THE
COLLECTION OF POPULAR TALES ENTITLED
GOSIA BURLINGTON; AND ON THE
ENGLISH MORRIS DANCE.

By FRANCIS DOUCE

THE ILLUSTRATIONS OF WHICH BY J. KNEELAND.

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KING HENRY VI. PART I.

ACT I.

Scene 1. Page 106.

*Enter. And with them several other bad revelling stars,
That have consented unto Henry's death.*

It is conceived that most readers, after perusing the several notes on these lines, will be of opinion that some further elucidation is necessary. The first attempt should be to ascertain the respective significations of the words *consent* and *consent*, which can only be effected by an attention to their Latin etymology.

Consent, in its simple and primitive acceptation, is nothing more than a joining together harmoniously; but because in such harmony there is an agreement of sounds, the word was sometimes metaphorically used to express *consent* or agreement generally. *Consent* never means union of sounds, but agreement generally, or an union of *views* or *opinions*. *Consent* has most carefully distinguished them when he says, " *Ubi*

2 KING HENRY VI. PART I.

etiam perspecta via est calenda ejus qui causam
retinet atque eadem cognoscuntur, etiam quidam
contineant quasi consensum doctrinarum, etiam
raper sepius." De oratore, lib. iii. Among
English writers, the similitude in sound and an
invitation to orthography have contributed to
their common and promiscuous use.

Mr. Stevens inclines to the meaning above
given of *consent*, and yet he adopts *consent* in
his text; nor are his instances uniform. Thus
in the quotation from Cicero *De nat. deorum*,
consensus simply means *consent* or *agreement*.
In the passage from Milton *consent* evidently
denotes the same thing. The rest of his quota-
tions relate to medical *consent*.

Mr. Macon, in his own words, assents to
Mr. Stevens's explanation; yet his instances are
all unfortunately calculated to illustrate the other
sense of *consent* agreeing.

The books of Elmhurst's time indiscriminately
use both modes of orthography. Thus we have,
"Brougham's *consent* of Scripture," the meaning,
though, as is shown already, either will serve for
agreement.

In the two passages cited by Mr. Stevens from
Spenser, the orthography varies, though the
meaning is evidently the same, i. e. *medical con-*

sent. His expectations will be often disappointed who shall seek an exact meaning from some particular mode of orthography in ancient writers. There does not perhaps exist a more fallible rule; and it was reserved for the superior accuracy of modern times to affix any thing like uniformity of spelling, and consequently of sense, to our language.

It is impossible at this time to collect precisely what the author of the lines in question intended. The only guide we have is the passage quoted by Mr. Malone from another part of this play, "You all concerted unto Salisbury's death." Yet, had the poet written *concerted*, the sense in both places might be, you all acted in concert, or jointly in action, to accomplish the death-blow. This accords with the following passage in *Pericles*, Act 5. Sc. 1.

"The same house of plumes all did set
To join in brotherly conjunction."

An opportunity here presents itself of remarking how injudiciously we have discarded the proper expressive and figurative from concert, as a company of musicians playing together, for the now-forgotten Italian concert. The other would be vulgar to a modern ear, and is now spoiled in our dictionaries by a wrong spelling.

ACT III.

Scene I. Page 384.

Man. The bishop's and the duke of Gloucester's men,
Forbidden late to carry any weapons,
Have now their pockets full of pistols stow'd, &c.

This fact is borrowed, with some variation, from *Scève* or *Publius*. "Men being forbidden to bring swords or other weapons, brought great horns and staves on their necks; and when these weapons were unladed them, they took stones and pieces of lead, &c."

Sc. I. p. 387.

Win. Even king he-the bishop hath a truly good.

Mr. Stevens has on this occasion, for the sake of the last word, introduced two names which might very well have been spared. There is no doubt that *Warwick* means to say that the young king has given *Winchester* a gentle reproof. This is the plain and obvious meaning of *good*. Dr. Johnson is wide, very wide, of the mark.

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ACT V.

Scene 3. Page 644.

Enter Two speedy helpers, that are ministers
Under the earthly monarch of the north,
Appar.

The monarch of the North was Zimmar, one of the four principal devils invoked by witches. The others were, Amalmon king of the East, Guesar king of the South, and Gasp king of the West. Under these devil kings were devil magicians, doctors, priests, knights, presidents and such. They are all enumerated, from *Wier* *De præstigiis demonum*, in Scott's *Discoverie of witchcraft*, book iv, c. 8 and 9.



KING HENRY VI. PART II.

ACT I.

Scene I. Page 30.

Enter With Margery Jourdain, the cunning witch.

It appears from Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 406, that in the tenth year of King Henry the Sixth, Margery Jourdain, John Talley clerk, and first John Ashwell were, on the ninth of May 1453, brought from Windsor by the constable of the castle, to which they had been committed for sorcery, before the council at Westminster, and afterwards, by an order of council, delivered into the custody of the lord chancellor. The same day it was ordered by the lords of council that whenever the said Talley and Ashwell should find security for their good behaviour they should be let at liberty, and in like manner that Jourdain should be discharged on her husband's finding security. This woman was

afterwards turned in Smithfield, as stated in the play and also in the chronicles.

ACT III.

Scene 2. Page 64.

Pier, Pier before, at all I do, I give that my eyes.

Minsheu and others concluded that this word was derived from *apere* *eye*, an etymology that perfectly accords with the baroque manner of Dean Swift. It has been also deduced from the Greek words *epa* and *napa*; the Latin *perre* and *aperta*, *Ac. Sc.* Skinner, with more plausibility, has suggested the Saxons *apopan*. After all, *an apere* is no more than a corruption of a *napere*, the old and genuine orthography. Thus in *The merry adventures of the pardons and capons* :

" ———— and therewith to wepe

She made, and with her *napere* fair and white yew

She wept I soft her eyes for tears that she wept

As good as my *napere*—"

Urry's *Chron.* p. 424.

We have borrowed the word from the old French *napere*, a large cloth. See *Carpenter Suppl.* ad *Coarctum*, s. *Napere*. So *napere*,

8 KING HENRY VI. PART II.

which has perplexed our dictionary-makers, is only a little cloth, from *sappe*.

—————

Sc. 3. p. 68.

How. Hold Peter, hold, I receive thanks

[Exit]

The real names of these conductors were *Johs Dunge* and *William Cator*, as appears from the original precept to the sheriffs still remaining in the Exchequer, commanding them to prepare the barriers in Smithfield for the combat. The names of the sheriffs were Godfrey Boleyns and Robert Horne; and the latter, which occurs in the page of Fabian's chronicle that records the duel, might have suggested the name of *Horner* to Shakespeare. *Stowe* is the only historian who has preserved the servant's name, which was *Daniel*. Annexed to the before mentioned precept is the account of expenses incurred on this occasion, duly retained into the Exchequer. From this it further appears that the erection of the barriers, the combat itself, and the subsequent execution of the armours, occupied the space of six or seven days; that the barriers had been brought to Smithfield in a cart from Westminster; that a large quantity of coal and gravel

was consumed on the occasion, and that the place of battle was strewn with riches. Mr. Stevens has inferred from the above record that the *assessor* was not killed by his opponent, but *seized, and immediately afterwards hanged*. This, however, is in direct contradiction to all the historians that have mentioned the circumstance, who, though they differ in some particulars, are certainly agreed as to the death of the assessor by the hands of his opponent. Hallé's words are, "*whose body was drawn to Tyburn and there hanged and beheaded*;" a mode of expression which, though ambiguous, seems rather to refer to the previous death of the party. Fabian, Grafton, Scowe, and Holinshed, state that he was slain. It is possible that Mr. Stevens, in making the above inference, conceived that because the man was hanged he must necessarily have been alive at the time of his execution; but the mercy of the law on this occasion certainly made no such distinction; and the *dead body* of the vanquished was equally subjected to the punishment of a convicted traitor, in order that his posterity might participate in his infamy. Indeed the record itself seems decisive; for it states that the dead man was watched after the battle was done, and this probably means before

it was conveyed to Tyburn for execution and decapitation. The same rule was observed in cases of appeal for murder, as we learn from the laws or customs of Jerusalem made there in the fourteenth century; by which he that was slain or vanquished from cowardice in the field of battle, was adjudged to be drawn and hanged; his horse and arms being given to the constable. See *Thesaurus Antiquitatis Jerusalemensis*, ch. 104. and *Selden's Death*, p. 55. The hanging and beheading were confined to cases of murder and treason; in a simple affair of arms the vanquished party was only degraded and led forth ignominiously from the lists.

Since this note was written, the whole of the curious record in the Exchequer has been printed in Mr. Nicholls's valuable and interesting work entitled, *Illustrations of the manners and customs of various times in England*, 1797, 4to. As intimately connected with the present subject, the following extract cannot fail of being acceptable. It is taken from Goggin, *Costs Romane*, printed at Paris by Ant. Vassal, without date, in folio, a volume of extreme rarity, and is part of the ceremony of an appeal for treason as regulated by Thomas Duke of Gloucester, high constable to Richard the Second. "Et si le dicit

bataille en cause de traison, celui qui est vaincu et desceindra sera desceindz dedans les liens, et par le commandement du constable sera mis en un cornet et en reprobacion de ley sera traïné hors avec chemise de lin même ou il est ainsi desceindz parmy les liens jusqu'au lieu de justice, ou sera decollé ou pendu selonc l'usage du pays, laquelle chose appartient au marshal veür par fourrir par son office, et le mettre a execution," *ib.* 146c—that is, "if the said battle be on account of treason, he that is vanquished and discomfited shall be disarmed within the list, and by the authority of the constable put into a little cart; then, having received a proper reprimand he shall be drawn by horses from the spot where he has been disarmed, through the list, to the place of public execution, and there hanged or beheaded, according to the custom of the country: which matter the marshal, by virtue of his office, is to see performed and executed."

ACT III.

Scene I. Page 14.

Hen. I think, I should have told your grace's tale,

On this expression Dr. Johnson remarks that

"majesty was not the settled title till the time of King James the First." In a note to vol. i. p. 27, of the lives of *Richard, Albion, and Wood*, it is said that our kings had not the title of majesty in the reign of Henry the Eighth; and another note in Dr. Warburton's edition of the *Dancho*, b. iv. l. 176, states that James was the first who assumed the title of sacred majesty; all which information is unsupported by authority.

On the other hand, Camden more correctly says, that "majesty came hither in the time of King Henry the Eighth, as sacred majesty hardly in our memory." *Remains concerning Britain*, p. 108, edit. 1674, 8vo. Giddes, referring to the passage, wishes it to be understood so far as it relates to the title being "commonly in use and properly to the king applied," because he adduces an instance of the use of majesty so early as the reign of Henry the Second. In a letter from queen Elizabeth to Edward the Sixth, she signs "Your majesties humble sister," and addresses it "To the Kings most excellent majesty." Harl. MS. No. 6868. In the same volume is a most extraordinary letter in Italian to Elizabeth, beginning, "*Scerissima et sacrosancta maestà*," which shows that Camden, who wrote what he says above early in 1608, must rather refer to Elizabeth than James the First.

The use of majesty is ascribed by the learned authors of the *Nouveau traité de diplomatique* to Godfrey king of the Visigoths, and to the kings of Lorraine in the seventh century; but in France it is not traceable before the year 1500, about which time Rabelais de France, in the dedication to his translation of Saint Augustine *De civitate Dei*, thus addresses Charles the Fifth, "*à sup-
plie à votre royale majesté*." It was however but sparingly used till the reign of Louis XI. In the treaty of Crécy the emperor Charles V. is called *imperial majesty*, and Francis I. *royal majesty*. In that of Chateau Cambresis, Henry II. is entitled *most christian majesty*, and Philip II. *catholic majesty*. Pasquier has some very curious remarks in reputation of the use of majesty. See *Recherches de la France*, liv. viii. ch. ii.

Both Camden and Selden agree that the title of Grace began about the time of Henry the Fourth, and of excellent Grace under Henry the Sixth.

Sc. 1. p. 61.

YOUNG. ————— I have seen him.

 Caper upright like a wild dilline,

 Shaking the bloody darts in his left hand.

However [see Dr. Johnson's explanation of

14 KING HENRY VI. PART II.

Musica may be in an etymological point of view, it is at least doubtful whether it means in this place a real or even personated *Music*. Nothing necessary be intended than simply a performance in a *warlike dance*. It may be likewise doubted whether in the English *warlike dance*, a single *Moorish* character was ever introduced. The quotation from *Jonas* is extremely perplexing; yet it must be remembered that he was a foreigner, and speaking perhaps conjecturally.

—————

Sc. 2. p. 55.

K. Hen. ————— Come, baillif,
And bid the murtherer gear with thy dyle.

Bartholomew, with whom it has been shown that Shakspeare was well acquainted, speaking of the *baillif* or executioner, says, "In his right he fowls nor hilde passeth harmlesse, and though he be farr from the fowle, yet it is leapt and devoured by his mouth . . . Plinius also sayth there is a wilde beast called *Carcharias* [which is] great voyring to mankinde: for all that see his open should eye move, and the same blinde doth the execution." *De propriis. cap. 18. lib. vii. c. 16.* The same property is also mentioned by Pliny of the *baillif*, but Holland's translation was not

printed till after this play was written. It is true that if Shakspeare did not write the lines in question, the original author might have used a Latin Play.

Sc. V. p. 103.

WAR. Off how I see a timely-putted glaze.

It has been very plausibly suggested that *timely-putted* signifies in proper time, as opposed to timorous; yet in this place it seems to mean early, recently, newly. Thus in *Macbeth*, Act II, Sc. 3,

"He did command me to call timely on him."

Again, in *The unjustified Jew's* garden,

"Says he, I'll say; says she, I wren
To be so timely putted."

Porter, in his comedy of the *Two angry women of Abingdon*, 1809, &c., seems to have had Warwick's speech in view when he wrote these lines:

"Off how I heard a timely murder'g'd
That early left to tell her mother man, &c."

Sc. 2. p. 105.

WAR. But see, his face is black and full of blood.

The accounts given by the English historians

16 KING HENRY VI. PART II.

of the Duke of Gloucester's death are very discordant and unsatisfactory. They relate that he was smothered between feather-beds; that he was found dead in his bed; that a red hot spit was thrust through him; and that he died of grief. There is another account of this event, which, as it seems to have been quite unnoticed in our histories, and may deserve as much attention as either of the foregoing, shall here be given.

George Chastellain, a celebrated soldier, poet, and historian, was by birth a Fleming, and is said to have been in the service of Philip duke of Burgundy. He travelled into various countries, and wrote an account of what he had seen, under the title of *The wonderful occurrences of his time*. Speaking of his visit to England, he says;

“ *Peusent par Angleterre
 Je voy un grant tourment
 Les seigneurs de la terre.
 Remuement d'armes
 Armes en tel deluge
 Que n'eussent entendues
 Que a pechiez ont refuge
 On met d'opprobres.
 Ung seigneur en prison
 Par despitous raisons
 Le val en deshonneur
 Et son lignage honte*

*Guéryfil s'is prandre
 Deuant le grant,
 De son alce le moult
 Et le plus valent.*"

This alludes to the flight of Henry the Sixth into Scotland. In another place he speaks as an eye witness of the death of duke Humphrey, and relates that he was strangled in a cask of wine, adding also the reason,

*" En l'arteson moult
 Yeu a l'ueil refrenant
 Le grant due de Glocestre
 Meurtrir prisonnant
 En vin plus auz cove
 Failloit que seroient, fait,
 Chaper par ceste maniere,
 Que le mort n'y parot."*

What credit he may deserve may be worth the inquiry of some future historian. His work in general will strike every reader as a strange mixture of veracity and credulity.

The above singular mode of inflicting death seems to have prevailed about this time; for we find not long afterwards another instance of it in the execution of George duke of Clarence, who, as is generally agreed, was drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine. He appears to have chosen the manner of his death, on which Mr. Hume

makes the following observation: "A whimsical choice, which implies that he had an extraordinary passion for that figure*." It should rather be inferred that the punishment in question was more frequent than is commonly known, and made use of for culprits of rank and eminence when dispatched in secret. Jean Molinet, the continuator of the above work of Charolais, has thus described this event:

"*Par son dar de Clavier
 Tomba en son tour
 Un prisonnier apaisé
 De regret & mal leur,
 De mort postréus
 Le roy le fist saper
 D'une machine
 Pour le faire rompre."*

Sc. 2. p. 116.

G. HAM. Arty" though pining in a feudal castle,

A learned commentator has stated that this

* One should almost suppose that the historian had recollected Cyprien de Bergeron's dream of a visit to the late French regent, where he saw the Duke of Clarence, "who," says he, "voluntarily showed himself in a barrel of Molinet, waiting for Dragones, in hopes of getting half his tale to lodge in."

word was generally written *cor'live* in Shakespeare's time, and he has indeed proved that it was so written sometimes. The fact is, it was written as at present in prose, and in poetry either way, as occasion required. Thus Drant in his translation of *Horace's satyres*, 1566, 460 :

"What you say why't carriage style
Is every to the spe."

In the text it should be printed *cor'live*.

Sc. 2. p. 118.

K. Hen. O how easy the holy meddling dead
That lay strong legs on the world's neck.

It was the belief of our pious ancestors, that when a man was on his death-bed the devil or his agents attended in the hope of getting possession of the soul, if it should happen that the party died without receiving the sacrament of the eucharist, or without confessing his sins. Accordingly in the ancient representations of this subject, and more particularly in those which occur in such printed services of the church as contain the rights or offices of the dead, these *holy meddling devils* appear, and with great anxiety beset the dying man; but on the approach of

the priest and his attendants, they betray symptoms of horrible despair at their impending confusion. In an ancient manuscript book of devotions, written in the reign of Henry the Sixth, there is a prayer addressed to Saint George, with the following very singular passage: "Judge for me when the mortal bedpans and damnable dragons of hell shall be ready to take my poor soul and engulf it in its fiery infernal helms."

Shakespeare, who in many instances has proved himself to have been well acquainted with the terms and ceremonies of the Roman church, has, without doubt, on the present occasion, availed himself of the above epigram. Whether this had happened to that pre-eminent painter, who, among the numerous monuments of his excellence that have immortalised himself and done honour to his country, has depicted the last moments of Cardinal Beaufort with all the powers of his art, cannot now be easily ascertained. He has been censured for personifying the fiend, on the supposition that the poet's language is merely figurative; with what justice this now may perhaps assist in deciding. Some might disapprove the revivification of Popish ideas; while others, more attentive to ancient customs, and regardless of

popular or other prejudices, might be disposed to defend the painter on the ground of strict adherence to the manners of the times.

The reader may not be displeased at being introduced to a more intimate acquaintance with the earliest mode of representing a dying man as above referred to. It is copied from a plate in a later edition of the *Art mariale*, one of those books on which the citizens of Harlem found their claim to the invention of printing; whereas it is in fact no more than a collection of wooden engravings made for pious purposes, and explained by writing out on the same blocks, and by no means a real specimen of the above art. To this is added another exhibition of the same subject, but very superior in point of art. It is copied from an engraving in wood by an unknown artist of considerable merit; and from the striking resemblance which it bears to the picture of our great painter above alluded to, much cannot be hindered in supposing that he might have taken some hint from it, as it is well known that he collected many prints with the view of making such use of preceding excellence as the most exalted genius will ever condescend to do.

The Greeks, when persons were dying, drove away evil spirits by placing at the door branches

11 KING HENRY VI. PART II.

of bramble or buckthorn. They likewise made a robe by beating beanes vessels for the same purpose.





ACT IV.

Scene 2. Page 155.

Cass. — the sheep-steep'd yet shall have the hump.

The note here is not sufficiently explanatory. The old drinking-pots, being of wood, were bound together, as barrels are, with hoops; whence

54 KING HENRY VI. PART II.

they were called *hoops*. Cade promises that every *can* which now had three *hoops* shall be increased in size so as to require ten. What follows in the notes about "burning of cans," does not appear to relate to the subject.

SC. 2. A. 140.

Surre. The clerk of Chesham.

This person is a non-entity in history, and in all probability a character invented by the writer of the play. It is presumed that few will be inclined to agree with Mr. Rieu in supposing him to have been Thomas Baply a serjeant-at-law at *Willeschepel*, and Cade's bosom friend.

SC. 7. A. 141.

Cade. They break into *King's* law's house, Sir *James* *Chesham*.

Mr. Rieu, citing William of Worcester to show that the sheriff's name was *William*. The author of the play, if wrong, may be justified by the examples of Hallé, Gresham, *Surre*, in his early editions, and *Hallehead*, who call him *James*. *Yalton*, as if doubtful, saves a block

for Cromwell's Christian name. As to the fact itself, the evidence of William of Worcester, a contemporary writer, is entitled to the preference. Fuller's list of the sheriffs of Kent likewise makes the name *Wylliam*.

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Sc. 10. p. 175.

CARR. I think this great soldier was born to do me good :
for many a time, but for a while, my heart-gut
had been chaff with a bitter fall.

The notes on this occasion may admit of correction as well as amendment. It is possible that we have borrowed *sollet* from the French *solade*, in the sense of a helmet; but the original word is the old Teutonic *schelt*, which signifies generally, a covering. Hence *skell*, *scall*, *scull*, *skilt*, &c. *Whiffle* does not use *brain-pans* for *scull*, in *Asper* iv. 55, as Mr. Whalley supposes, but *brass*, simply.



KING HENRY VI. PART III.

ACT I.

Scene 1. Page 323.

Ed. How comes the queen when looks betray her
sight.

ALTHOUGH the word *betray* has received very proper illustration on the present and other occasions, it remains to observe that its simple and original meaning was to *discover* or *disclose*; that it has been confounded with *deceit*, which is used, though not exclusively, for to *discover* for *bad* or *treacherous* purposes, a sense in which *betray* is never properly found. Of this position take the following proof: "If you do so, aside the other, then you ought to let me knowe what as ever you know your self: unless you thinke that yourself will *betray* yourself, except you doubt yourself will *deceive* yourself, and unless you thinke that yourself will *betray* your self." *Lycan's Shop's*, 1560, 4to, sign. I. 4. b.

Sc. 1. p. 558.

Q. Man. *After this made that usage doth thus hit.*

The note which follows Mr. Seemans's was not inadvertently introduced by that gentleman, though it certainly should not have been retained as the text now stands.

Sc. 4. p. 562.

Q. Man. *[Putting a paper crown on his head.]*

Mr. Risson has not shown, as he conceived he had, that the preceding commentator was entirely mistaken : for the author of the play, if he be accountable for the stage direction, could not have "followed history with the utmost precision," when he makes queen Margaret put a paper crown on York's head ; whereas Holinshed, the black letter chronicler whom Mr. Risson should have first consulted, and who only follows Whetstade, relates that a garland of jacinthes was placed on York's head, which was afterwards stripped off and presented to the queen. Nor is there historical evidence that the queen herself put on the crown. Shakspeare has continued the same error in *King Richard the*

18 KING HENRY VI. PART III.

Third, where he makes Gloucester say to queen Margaret,

"The name my noble father had on thee
 When thou didst crown his noble bones with paper."

He was therefore, in this instance, misled by the author of *King Henry the Sixth*; or, he must have written the queen's speech himself.

—————

Sc. 4. p. 166.

YOUNG. Whose tongue more precious than the silver's touch.

Again in *Cymbeline*, Act III. Sc. 4;

"Whose tongue surpasses all the tongues of Asia."

—————

ACT III.

Scene 4. Page 310.

L. GLEN. But, almighty lord, this every indication
 Assails not with the sadness of my soul.

The following is offered as a very select instance of the use of metaphors for seriousness. It is from Tom Corla's speech that he made to a Mahometan who had called him an infidel. "But I pray thee tell me thou Mahometan, dost thou

in answer call me *Clare*? That I doe, quoth he. Then quoth I, in very order answer I return that shameful word in thy throat."

SC. II. p. 214.

Clare. Like to a chace, or an untild'd deer-whyld.

The common opinion which Dr. Johnson mentions of the bear bringing forth unformed lumps of unformed flesh, and afterwards licking them into proper shape, has been very properly exposed and confuted by Sir Thomas Browne in his *Enquiries into vulgar errors*, book iii. ch. 6. His adversary Ross in his *Acroas microcosm*, p. 113, has attempted a solution of this matter, by saying it is a fact that bears bring forth their young deformed and mis-shapen, by reason of the thick membrane in which they are wrapped, that is, covered over with a mucous and flag-matich matter. This, he says, the dam contracts in the winter time, by lying in hollow caves without motion, so that to the eye the cub appears like an unformed lump. The above membrane is afterwards licked away by the dam, and the membrane broken, whereby that which before seemed to be unformed appears now in its right shape.

80 KING HENRY VI. PART III.

And this, he contends, against Dr. Brown, is all that the ancient meant. See more on the subject of the old opinion in Bartholomæus *De proprietat. rerum*, lib. viii. c. 113.

ACT IV.

Scene 7. Page 159.

Glo. For may not that death be the threshold.

To understand this phrase rightly, it must be remembered that some of the old thresholds or steps under the door, were, like the boards, raised a little, so that a person might stumble over them unless proper care was taken. A very whimsical reason for this practice is given in a curious little tract by Sir Ralphus Goshier, entitled, *Caution and advice to all husbanders*, 1608, 24mo, in these words, "A good surveyour sheweth also the ordering of doores with stumbling-blocks-thresholds, though our forefathers affected them, perchance to perpetuate the ancient custome of bridegroomes, when formerly at their return from church [they] did use to lift up their bride, and to knock their head against that of the doore, for a remembrance, that they were not to passe the threshold of their house without their leave."

ACT V.

Scene 7. Page 434.

CLAU. What will your grace have done with Margaret?
 Beguile her father, to the King of France
 Hath gave't the Switz and Perceigne,
 And hath have they sent it for her ransom.

Unless there be some omission in this speech, it must either be regarded as improperly elliptical, or as ungrammatical. It refers to the sum of money borrowed by Margaret's father, which is mentioned by the French historians to have been fifty thousand crowns. The author of the play followed Holinshed.

THE right construction of *Hicliat*, as well as the proper description of *Abbas's* porch, which Shakespeare, in *King Henry the Fourth*, had misrepresented, are additional arguments that he did not write the whole of these plays; but that they were composed by some person who had more classical knowledge, but infinitely less genius than our author.

KING RICHARD III.

ACT I.

Scene 1. Page 461.

GLO. He sleeps sweetly in a lady's chamber
To the lascivious pleasing of a lute.

THE question with Dr. Johnson is, whether it be war that enters, or *Faith*; and he justly remarks that if the latter, the antecedent is at an almost forgotten distance. The amorous temper of Edward the Fourth is well known; and there cannot be a doubt that by the *lascivious pleasing of a lute*, he is directly alluded to. The subsequent description likewise that Richard gives of himself is in comparison with the *king*. Dr. Johnson thought the image of war entering partial; yet it is not easy to conceive how *grinning'd war* could enter in a lady's chamber.

Sc. 1. p. 462.

GLO. Chased of fate by downy slumbers.

The poet by this expression seems to mean no

more than that nature had made for Richard before while those of other men. To *dissemble*, both here and in the passage quoted from *King John*, signifies the verb *dis* to resemble, in its active sense, and is not used as *dissemble* in *Lords*.

ACT II.

Scene 1. Page 340.

1 Cor. If none by's help ; seldom comes the Justice.

Well might the author of the book quoted by Mr. Bond say "that proverb indeed is ancient," as will appear from the following curious account of its origin, extracted from a manuscript collection of stories compiled about the time of King Henry the Third.

"Quidam abbas dedit monachis octo tria fercula. Discurrunt monachi, Iste parum dedit nobis. Regemque Deum ut cito morietur. Et sive ex hoc causa, sive ex illis, mortuus est. Substantia est alius, qui eis tamen dedit duo fercula. Iam monachi currituri discurrunt, Nunc singulis est eundem, quia eam ferculum subtractum est, Deus interibat in vitam suam. Tandem mortuus

est. Subtilior est tertius, qui duo secula sub-
trahit. Tunc monachi discunt, bene possunt est
inter omnes, quia tunc non interit, regnum
Deum quod deo incutitur. Dicit unus monachus,
Rogo Deum quod deo sit vitam longam, et tunc
veniat cum nobis. Alii aduersari querunt quare
hoc dixerit, qui ait, Vide quod primus hinc malus,
secundus peius, hic possidet, timet quod cum
mortuus fuerit alius peius succedet, qui perire
non tunc possidet. Ualde voluit dicit, *Beyle could
not dream.*"

Sec. 4. p. 343.

G. Ruse. A parlor boy.

"Parlor," says Mr. Stevens, "is keen,
shrewd." Mr. Ruse is of a different opinion,
and thinks it a corruption of *perilous*, dangerous.
Both parties are right; but it is probably used
here as *perilous*, in like manner as the name in
Alonso and Isabel talks of "a parlor knock,"
and as it is due to be taken in *Madame's night's
dream*, where Mr. Stevens had properly ex-
plained it; and the instance which he has given
on the present occasion does, in fact, corroborate
his former note. Parlor is likewise made synony-
mous with shrewd by Litchon. See his Latin

die v. leperous. In Middleton's play of *The changeling*, we have "a *perouse* fool," i. e. *stupid*, "he must sit in the fourth form at least." Yet a few pages farther the same word is as clearly used for *perverse*. After all, there is little or no difference in the senses of it, for in *throw-down* there is certainly *peril*. He that meets with a *stern*, may well be said to be in danger. Some might think that this word is the same as *rebellious*, in which case it must have been borrowed from the French; but that language does not furnish an adjective of the kind. The original corruption was *perverse*. Thus in an unpublished work by William of Nassington, a poet of the fifteenth century, who wrote on the Lord's prayer, *See*, we have, "Mischance this manner is *perverse*."

ACT III.

Scene I. Page 261.

YOUNG. Uncle, my brother needs hath you and me;
Because that I am little, like an ape,
He bids to draw you about his neck a pair of shoules.

Mr. M. Mason contends that this is simply an allusion to Richard's deformity, and is not inclined to

admits the propriety of Dr. Johnson's supposition, that York means to call his uncle a leech. From a quotation given by the former gentleman, it is clear that Shakespeare, when alluding to Richard's deformity, mentions his back; and it is therefore probable that he would have used the same term in the present instance, had he adhered to the duke's shape. For this reason Dr. Johnson's opinion seems preferable; yet something more might have been intended. The practice of keeping apes or domestic monkeys was formerly much more common than at present. Many old prints and paintings corroborate this observation*, and in some the monkey appears chained to a large globe or roller of wood, which, while it permitted the animal to shift his situation, prevented him from making his escape. It is almost unnecessary to add that the monkey, as the intimate companion of the domestic fool, would often get upon his shoulders. There is a fine picture, by Holbein, of Henry the Eighth and some of his family, which, by favour of his majesty, now decorates the meeting room of the Society of Antiquaries. In it is an admirable portrait of Will Somers, the

* See the fine illustrations by Goussier to Vander's *Amuseur*.

king's fool, with a monkey clinging to his neck, and apparently occupied in rendering his friend William a very material piece of service, wherein this animal is remarkably dexterous, the fool revolving his head in a manner that indicates his sense of the obligation. York may therefore mean to call his uncle a fool, and this, what all, may be the wren that Buckingham afterwards refers to.

Every one is acquainted with the propensity of the monkey to clanking upon other animals. Gervase Markham in his *Countryman*, a treatise on horsemanship already referred to, devotes a chapter to inform his reader "how a horse may be taught to doe any tricks done by Beasts his carrill," in which he says, "I will shew you by the example of two or three strikes, how you shall make your horse to doe any other action as well as any dog or ape whatsoever, except it be *draping up his shoulder*." The curious reader may find more illustration of the subject in the specimen of Dr. Boucher's *Supplement to Johnson's dictionary*, article *ape*; but the learned and ingenious author was certainly mistaken in supposing that fools carried the representation of apes on their shoulders, and probably in what he says concerning the origin of the phrase of putting an ape in a man's head.

ACT IV.

Scene 2. Page 651.

K. RICH. Because that like a Jack, thou keep'st the stroke.

At Horsham church, in Essex, there was a figure dressed in velvet and gold, that struck the quaters. He was called *Jack o' the clock house*. The French term for this kind of automaton is *pepasseur*, the etymology of which is very fanciful and uncertain.

ACT V.

Scene 1. Page 660.

Henry. Holy Day Henry—

This epithet is not applied without good reason. King Henry the Sixth, though never actually canonized, was regarded as a saint, and miracles were supposed to have been performed by him. In some of our church service-books before the Reformation, there are prayers which are said to have been of his composition, and one in particular

that is addressed to him is entitled, "A prayer
to holy king Henry."

Sc. 3. p. 665.

E. Eves. Besides, the king's name is a tower of strength.

Borrowed from *Proverbia*, xiii. v. 10. "The
name of the Lord is a strong tower."

Sc. 3. p. 667.

Care ——— In a supper time, my lord;
It's now twelve.

"A supper at so late an hour as nine o'clock
in the year 1483," says Mr. Gough, "would
have been a prodigy." It certainly would, and
even at the time when this play was written, the
period to which the criticism more justly belongs.
In other instances there was a reason for prefer-
ring the text of the quarto-copy, and yet the un-
necessary alteration is retained.

Sc. 3. p. 668.

E. Eves. This old Saint George is best.

Dr. Johnson is undoubtedly right against both

his opponents, one of whom has addressed the phrase *St. George to harness*, unintentionally in support of him. To *harness* is no more a verb than to *hoist*; it means as a *pledge* or *security*, *harness* being the Saxon term for a *pledge*. The phrase is an invocation to the saint to act as a protector. *Saint George to harness* is evidently a misconceived paraphrase of the old mode of expression, by improperly changing the substantive to a verb. Holinshed, in the speech of Richard before the battle, introduces "*St. George to harness*."

So. B. p. 480.

E. Even, long kept in Bedage at our mother's cost.

It has been already stated by Dr. Farmer that the mistake here of *mother* for *brother* must be placed to the account of the book which Shakespeare followed, viz. Holinshed's *chronicle*; but the doctor has omitted to notice that in the *first* edition of Holinshed the word is rightly printed *brother*. It is no otherwise worth while to mention this fact, than that it points out the particular edition of the above historian which Shakespeare used. Nothing can be more judicious nor decisive than Mr. Malone's argument for retaining

the historical errors of Shakespeare, and Mr. Ritson's desire of changing the text does not correspond with those principles of accuracy on which he laid so much stress.

—————

So, 3. p. 461.

K. Rich. A villain he,

This is from Holinshed, "To begin with the end of Richmond's captivity of this rebellion, he is a *Wick* traitor," &c.



KING HENRY VIII.

ACT I.

Scene 1. Page 28

Enter. ——— but this tap-proud fellow
(Whom from the flow of gall I name not, but
From some making)

Dr. *Joaness* explains *some* *some* to be
lowest indignities; and, for some yet, would
substitute *some* yet. But is not the following
the plain sense, without any alteration? "this
tap proud fellow, whom I call so, not from an
excess of bluntness, but from a greater impetu-
of the mind."

—————

Sc. 1. p. 28.

Enter. I am the shadow of poor Buckingham,
Whose figure even this instant doth put on,
By dark say my dear son

It is no tiny matter on some occasions to com-
pound the precise meaning of Shakespeare's

metaphors, which are often careless and confused; and of this position the present lines are, doubtless, an example. We have here a double comparison. Buckingham is first made to say that he is but a shadow; in other terms, a dead man. He then adverts to the sudden cloud of misfortune that overwhelms him, and, like a shadow, obscures his prosperity.

Sc. 5. l. 48.

CLAU. Is it possible the spells of Fate should juggle
Men into such strange systems?

Dr. Johnson's explanation is much too fanciful. Mysteries are true, and have artificial fictions.

ACT II.

Scene 2. Page 51.

Line 12 *venture and love at him*

The first folio reads "I'll venture one; here at him," and this, except as to the punctuation, is right. *Here at you* was a common phrase; it is used by Sherry in the ensuing act, and afterwards by Cromwell.

 Sc. II. p. 75.

CAR. ——— which beggar'd him, [Doctor Pace]
 That he was dead and did.

This is from Holinshed. "About this time the king received into favour doctor Stephen Gardiner, whose service he used in matters of great uncooke and weight, admiring him in the room of Doctor Pace, the which being continually abroad in ambassades, and the same effraynt not much necessary, by the Cardinal's appointment, at length he took such greoke therewith, that he fell out of his right wits."

 Sc. II. p. 75.

ANON. ——— 't is a sufficient paying
 As soul and body's serving.

Of the parallel passages already cited, this is not the least so, from *Measure for measure*;

"——— in respect of service both a king is great
 As when a guest dies."

 Sc. IV. p. 93.

[They enter as before]

Mr. Bailey's note is very judiciously introduced

to get rid of the interpolated stage direction inserted by some of the editors, and to account for the king's apostrophe to *Chamner*. He might have adduced an earlier exemplification of his remark from the missing scene, where *Norfolk* asks, when *Chamner* returns? The archbishop of Canterbury, who attends the procession to *Blackfriars*, was *William Warham*.

ACT III.

Scene 5. Page 112.

For ——— I persuade me, *Brother*
 Will fill some thing to *Giulio*, which shall
 In it be answer'd.

This is, no doubt, a compliment to queen Elizabeth.

Sc. 6. p. 116.

For. ——— I'll strike you
 Where thou art aching still, when thou wouldst
 Lay sleeping in your arms, fond-cuckold.

Was there any Skeltonical tradition to this effect in Shakespeare's time, or has he only taken

a line from one of the articles against Wolsey, which is conceived in the following manner: "Also the said Lord Cardinal did call before him Sir John Study knight, which had taken a firm by Convent seal of the Abbot of Chester and after, with by his power and might contrary to right committed the said Sir John Study to the prison of Fleet by the space of a year unto such time as he compelled the said Sir John to release his Convent seal to one Leghe of Adlington, which married one Lark's daughter, which woman the said Lord Cardinal kept, and had with her now children," &c.

—————

Sec. 5. p. 127.

*Sir, First, that, without the king's intent, or knowledge,
You sought to be a legator, by which power
You misused the jurisdiction of all bishops*

We have here in substance the first of the articles exhibited by the lords of the privy council, and one of the judges against Wolsey. They had been faithfully recorded in some of our histories, but were at length printed by Lord Coke from the originals in his fourth Institute, chap. 8.

Sc. 2. p. 167.

Nor. Then, that, in all you wed to France, as else
To foreign princes, *Age of our state*
Was still such to us, as which you brought the king
To be your servant.

The nature of this supposed offence has been apparently misconceived by Shakespeare and others whom he might have followed. The original article against Wolsey, states, that "the Lord Cardinal of his presumptuous mind, in divers and many of his letters and instructions sent out of this realm to outward parts had joyned himself with your Grace, as in saying and writing, *The king and I would ye should do thus. The king and I doe give unto you our hearty thanks.* Whereby it is apparent that he used himself more like a fellow to your Highness, then like a subject." Wolsey's crime therefore was not in degrading the king beneath himself, but in assuming a degree of consequence that seemed to place him on a level with his sovereign. The offensive language when put into Latin would be more striking and apt to decide, but the idiom of the language required the above arrangement of the words.

—————

Sc. 2. p. 128.

- See* That thou without the knowledge
 Either of king or council, when you went
Ambassador to the emperor, you made bold
 To carry into *France* the great seal.
See Here, you sent a large commission
 To *Gregory de Cambray*, to conclude,
 Without the king's will, or the state's allowance,
 A league between his highness and *Ferris*.

Both these charges were included in the third article. "Also the said Lord Cardinall being your ambassador in France, sent a commission to Sir Gregory de Cambray under your great seal in your grace's name to conclude a treaty of amity with the Duke of Ferris, without any commandment or warrant of your highness, nor your said highness advertised or made privy to the same."¹¹

—————

Sc. 2. p. 129.

- See* That out of mere ambition you have made
 Your holy lot to be stamp'd on the king's seal.

An absurd and frivolous allegation against the unfortunate Cardinal, being the substance of the fortieth article. The episcopal privileges of

coining money had been long established, and were conceded in this reign to Rastbridge and Lee the predecessor and successor of Wolsey, as well as to the archbishops of Canterbury, Warham and Cranmer. But the great offence was placing the Cardinal's hat under the king's arms, "which like death," says the article, "hath not been seen to be done by any subject within your realm before this time." It may be asked how could it, Wolsey being the only English cardinal to whom the privilege of striking money had been granted? Nor could there be any substantial reason for regarding the cardinal's hat as more offensive than the bishop's mitre, which had already appeared on the coins of Durham.

EO. 3. p. 123.

How Lord Cardinal, the king's father pleasure is,—
Because all those things, you have done of late
By your power begone within the kingdom,
Fall into the compass of a prerogative,—
That deserves such a writ to read against you.

The poet was under the necessity of introducing the prerogative immediately after the article; but we learn from Camden that "Minister Cromwell inveighed against the bill of articles with

such wild persuasions and deep reasons that the same could take none effect. Then were his enemies constrained to advise him in a particular;¹ &c.

Sc. 2. p. 155.

Was. And when he falls, he falls like Lucifer.

Manifestly borrowed from that fine passage in *Isaiah*, xlv. ver. 12: "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer son of the morning!"

Sc. 2. p. 156.

Was. And sleep in dull cold marble

Mr. Gasp seems to have remembered this line in his elegy,²

"Ordinary sooths the dull cold ear of death."

Sc. 2. p. 157.

Was. Had I but serv'd my God with half the soul
I serv'd my king, he would not in mine age
Have left me naked to mine enemies.

Dr. Johnson remarks, that "this sentence was really uttered by Wolsey." The substance of it certainly was. The words themselves have been

preserved in the valuable *Life of Wolsey* by George Cavendish his gentleman usher, which Shakespeare might have used either in Stowe's chronicle or in manuscript; for several copies are still remaining that were transcribed in the reign of Elizabeth. Mr. Malone has closely taken due notice of their very superior value, and of the omissions and interpolations in the printed editions. In the latter, the work has been abridged of many details of great curiosity with respect to the manners of the times. A new and correct edition would be well deserving of the patronage of an enlightened public. The real words uttered by Wolsey were these; "Yf I hadd served God as diligently as I have done the kinge, he woulde not have given me over in my graye heares."

ACT V.

Scene 2. Page 125.

Man. — and let that woman, who cry'd out, Chide?

It has been observed, in illustration of this passage of crying out chide, that it was usually adopted in any quarrel or tumult in the street; but it remains to point out the persons that were

so called, because the watchman's weapon was the bell. Some inform us, that "when prebends and parsons attended upon their masters and mistresses in the night, they went before them carrying a lantern and candle in their hands, and a great long cloth on their necks," *Abbasco*, p. 1040, edn. 1651. The frequency of this exclamation in nocturnal quarrels might in process of time adapt the expression to general occasions.

Sec. 4. p. 156.

It is submitted that the stage exhibition of Elizabeth's christening should be conducted according to the curious and circumstantial details of the manner in which it was really performed, to be found in Hall's *Chronicle*, and copied from him by Surry into his *Abbasco*.



TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

PROLOGUE.

————— Editor's introduction.

IN this, as well as in Dr. Farmer's subsequent note, it might have been better to have quoted Caxton's translation of the *Remplis* or *decoration* of Troy, instead of *Lydgate*. In the edition of 1607 of the former work, which, at all probability, is that used by the author of the play, the gates of Troy are thus named; *Dardanis, Tisiphia, Helios, Chorus, Troyen, Antenorides*. These are nearer to the text than those in the other quotation from *Lydgate*, whose work the author does not seem to have consulted. Should the curious reader be desirous of seeing the manner in which Troy was formerly represented, he may be gratified by an inspection of it in its full glory, the gates inscribed with their names, and

fortified with porcellains, in the edition of Jacques Milet's *Histoire de la destruction de Troye*, Lyon, 1544, folio; or in Rabel le Ferre's *Recueil des Armes et Joyaux*, Lyon, 1516, folio. This was also a favourite subject in old tapestry, a very fine and ancient specimen of which remained a long time in the painted chamber that separates the two houses of parliament, till it was removed during the repairs of Saint Stephen's chapel for the accommodation of the Irish members. A copy of it was fortunately taken by that ingenious artist Mr. John Carter, draughtsman to the Society of Antiquaries.

ACT I.

Scene 1. Page 222.

Tro. Thus lay'st in every gash that love hath given me
The dagger that made it.

When poets speak of the wounds inflicted by love, they generally make the instrument to be an arrow; how a dagger came here to be introduced is not easy to account for. Is it possible that our author has transposed the old saying that a dagger cuts love?

Sc. 3. p. 145.

HEU. ———— and, now, behold

The strong *Idé*'s look through *Idé*'s mountains
on.

Boasting between the two moist elements,
Like *Pereus*' home.

Mr. Stevens, admitting the curiosity of his colleague's note on this passage, is unwilling to allow that its design to prove the home of *Pereus* a ship, and not an animal, has been accomplished. The learned editor observes, that "Shakespeare would not have contented himself with merely comparing one ship to another;" and that "an allegorized *Pegasus* might be fairly called *Pereus*' home, because the heroism of *Pereus* had given him existence." That one thing is compared to another which resembles it, can surely be no valid objection to the justice of a comparison; and though the birth of the unallegorized *Pegasus* was doubtless the result of *Pereus*'s bravery in conquering Medusa, it was incumbent on the objector to have demonstrated how this hero of *Pereus* had "boasted between two moist elements," to have made good the poet's comparison. There can be no doubt that the author of the simile has alluded to the fact concerning

the ship *Pegasus* alluded by Mr. Malone; and every thing leads to the supposition that he used the authority of Caeton's *Troy* book, though, as will be seen presently, that was not the most accurate of the kind.

It is undoubtedly a well justified poetical licence to compare a ship to a horse, on account of its speed. In the translation of an old Celtic ballad called *The maid's tragedy*, the monarch who pursues the flying damsel is sometimes said to traverse the waves on an enchanted steed; "which," say the Edinburgh reviewers, "probably arises from some equivoical expression in the original, as the Scolds term a ship the rider, and sometimes the horse of the ocean." *Edinh. review*, 1803, p. 438.

Mr. Malone has stated in the beginning of his valuable note, that "we no where hear of *Pegasus's* horse;" and that "*Pegasus* was the property not of *Pentest* but of *Polixarchus*." This is not quite accurate. It is certain that *Odys* has not mounted *Pentest* on any horse in his combat with the monster which was to devour *Andromeda*; and therefore it is matter of wonder that the mythological dictionary of *Champé*, and particularly the most excellent one by *Leopierre*, should positively affirm that he has. This error

has been likewise adopted by other writers. But though classic authority be wanting that Perseus made use of a horse, Boccaccio in his *Genealogie* *Deorum*, lib. xli. c. 15, has quoted Lactantius as saying, that when Perseus undertook his expedition against Gorgon, at the instance of king Polydectes, he was accompanied by the winged horse Pegasus, but not that he used him in delivering Andromeda. Boccaccio adds that others were of opinion that he had a ship called Pegasus. The liberties which the old French translators of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* have taken, and their interpolations, are unaccountable. Some have called Perseus the inventor of his birth to bestride Pegasus, and ward off to Helicon. In the cuts so many of the early editions of Ovid, the designers have not only placed him on Pegasus in the adventure with Andromeda, but even in his attack upon Arcton. These facts may serve to account for the multiplied errors of artists, who, neglecting to consult proper authorities, have traced to the erroneous examples of their predecessors. Schæffer Tafel, in his third book of *The lives of Ctesiphon and Leoncippus*, has described a picture of Perseus delivering Andromeda, in which he is made to descend by means of wings to his feet; and another on the same subject is spoken of by La-

18 TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

den in his description of a house. In neither of these is there any mention of a horse.

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ACT II.

Scene I., Page 518.

Troil. — an assage may now see.

Some doubt having arisen whether an *assage* is an ass or an ass-driver, the following passages from Ligon's *History of Barbadoes*, 1673, will serve to decide the question in favour of the four-legged animal; and demonstrate at the same time that the above term is not exclusively applied to a male ass, as Mr. Ritson had supposed. "We found it was far better for a man that had money, goods, or credit, to purchase a plantation there ready furnish'd, and stockt with servants, slaves, horses, cattle, swine, geese, camels, &c." And again, "And though I found at Barbadoes some who had martial minds; yet I found others, whose souls were so fixt upon, and so devoted to the earth, and the profits that arise out of it, as their souls were lifted no higher; and these men think, and have been heard to say, that three whip-snares going all at once in a frame or pit, is

TROILUS AND CRESSIDA. 39

the best and sweetest music that can enter their ears; and to hear a cow of their own low, or an assidge bray, no sound can please them better," pp. 98, 107.

SC. 3. p. 106.

DISSON. From him that got thee, she that gave thee me.

This ungrammatical line, though perhaps the property of Shakspeare, might as well be corrected.

SC. 3. p. 106.

USSI. Let Men divide manly in twain,
And give him half.

How Men was to accomplish this, the metaphysicians must decide. The idea is an odd compound of grandeur and absurdity. It might have suited to some account in the hands of the ingenious Edgeworths.

ACT III.

SCENE 2. Page 112.

CASS. *Re-enter* Far to be wise, and love,

Receiv'd man's right, that breeds with gold about.

If this be Shakspeare's, he got it from Teren-

ser's translation of *Palliar Syria*, at the end of Casan's discourse, 1555, 1560, where it stands thus, "To be in love and to be wye is scarce granted to God. It is not one man's properie both to love and also to be of a sounde mynde."

Sec. 2. p. 333.

Pen. — let all goodly gentlemen be add'd to the world: and also my name, call them all *Panders*.

Although the above is, no doubt, the real etymology of the word *pander*, the original use of it does not rest with Shakespeare. An earlier instance occurs in Gabriel Harvey's *Pleasur's interrogation*, 1599, 4to, in which "the *panders vice*" is mentioned. All other derivations must be rejected, because the term occurs in no language but our own. Nash, in his *More with you to Saffron Walden*, has most extravagantly deduced it from *Pandora*; and he adds that Sir Philip Sidney fetches it from *Plauton*. In Sir Philip's *Defense of poetrie*, the author, speaking of Terence's *Comico* and Chaucer's *Pander*, says, "we now use their names to signify their trades."

Sc. 3. p. 333.

CAL. ——— But the doctor
I have a trick or two in their skills.

If a former explanation should be thought to stand in need of further authority, the following may suffice.

In *A treatise between truth and information*, by W. Cornish, printed among the works of Stokoe, are these lines :

" A harp growth made as it is seen,
The harp may grow as it is seen;
A harp with its sound may make the harp wrong,
Mystifying of an instrument shall have a true song."

The same instrument was used for tuning other stringed instruments, as appears from the same poem :

" The dulcied hath a ready kynde,
As the wye is created by and lowe;
Be it taught to the plectrum kynde,
For as it is created so must it under shew,
Any instrument as it were shall have a true song,
For thus was the dulcied the wye-kynde wrong."

Again,

" With golden strings each instrument
His harp so sweet did sound ;

That he will'd his pleasures

Whom weddeth opportunity."

Archie Fisher's Fisher, sigs. B. 2. b.

In King James's edit against combers *ib.*, p. 45, is the passage, "this small instrument the tongue being kept in tune by the sweet of use," *ib.*

And in Swetnam's *Arraignment of women*, 1612, *etc.*, "They are always comparing their wits, as sellers do their wares, who weigh them so high, that many times they stretch them beyond fire, taste, and reason."

ACT IV.

Scene 5. Page 353.

Ulysses. ———— on themselves

For stink of opportunity,

And daughters of the game.

This expression seems borrowed from the *master of the game*, the ancient title of the king's game-keeper. There was also a *troulee* or *hauing*, so called, which Shakespeare had often read of, or might perhaps have seen.

ACT V.

Scene 3. Page 444.

TR. Brother, you have a run of money at you.
 Which better fits a Jew, than a man.

See a preceding note in vol. i. p. 307, 308.

Sc. 3. p. 444.

HEC. I am marr'd; keep the restage, Gosh.

The author of this play, in his account of the death of Hector, has, undoubtedly, departed from his original; and, as it should seem, without necessity. Mr. Steevens, on this occasion, takes notice of *Iphigene's* vehement reprehension of Homer's praise of Achilles, and of his gross violation of the characters drawn by the Grecian poet; but he has censured the wrong person. *Iphigene* has only followed his predecessor Guido of Colonna, who, (or perhaps the original writer Benoit de Saint Maer,) adopting the statement in the prologue to *Dares Phrygius*, appears to regard the latter as a more correct and veracious historian than Homer.

Sec. 9. p. 451.

For some palled years of Winchester would live.

If Mr. Mason had accidentally consulted the English part of Lincoln's excellent dictionary, he would not have doubted that "any symptom of the venereal disease was called a Winchester gone."

ON THE STORY OF THIS PLAY.

Of Lollia, the supposed inventor of this story, it will become every one to speak with diffidence. Until something decisive relating to him shall occur, it is better to conclude with Mr. Tyrwhitt, that Chaucer borrowed the greater part of his admirable story from Boccaccio's *Philostatus*; and that he either invented the rest altogether, or obtained it from some complete copy of the *Philostatus* than that which we now possess. What Dryden has said of Lollia is entirely destitute of proof, and appears to be nothing more than an inference from Chaucer's own expressions.

It would be a matter of extreme difficulty to ascertain, with any sort of precision, when and in what manner the story of Troilus and Cressida first made its appearance. Whether the author of the *Philostrophos* was the first who detected it so minutely as it is there found, remains to be decided; but it is certain that so much of it as relates to the departure of Cressida from Troy, and her subsequent amour with Diomed, did exist long before the time of Boccaccio. The work in which it is most known at present is the *Troy Book* of Guido of Colonna, composed in 1367, and, as he states, from Dares Phrygius, and Dictys Cretensis, neither of whom mentions the name of Cressida. Mr. Tyrwhitt, as it has eventually proved, had, with his usual penetration and critical acuteness, suspected that Guido's Dares was in reality an old Norman French poet named *Beuve de Saint-Mere*, who wrote in the reign of our Henry the Second, and who himself made use of Dares. This work seems to be the earliest authority now remaining. The task which Mr. Tyrwhitt had declined, has on this occasion been submitted to; and the comparison has shown that Guido, whose performance had long been regarded as original, has only translated the Norman writer into Latin. It is most probable

that he found Bessif's work when he came into England, as he is recorded to have done; and that pursuing a practice too prevalent in the middle ages, he dishonestly suppressed the mention of his real original. What has been advanced by Mr. Warton and some other writers respecting an old French romance under the name of *Troilus and Cressida* will not carry the story a moment higher; because this French romance is in fact nothing more than a much later performance, about the year 1400, compiled by *Pierre de Besençon* from the *Philostrophos* itself. This has been strangely confounded with several other French works on the Troy story related with great variety of circumstance, all or most of which were modelled on that of Guido of Colonna or his original; citing, as they had done, the supposititious histories of Dictys and Dares: It is worth while to embrace this opportunity of mentioning, for the first time, that there is a genuine French version of Bessif's metrical romance; but when made, or by whom, does not appear in a MS. of it transcribed at Verona in 1510.

Lydgate professedly followed Guido of Colonna, occasionally making use of and citing other authorities. In a short time afterwards

Romul le Fierre compiled from various materials: his *Romul des barons de Troie*, which was translated into English and published by Caxton; but neither of these authors has given more of the story of Troilus and Cressida than any of the other romances on the war of Troy; Lydgate contenting himself with referring to Chaucer. Of *Romul le Fierre's* work, often printed, there is a fine MS. in the British museum, Bibl. Reg. 11, E. 11., under the title of *Illeucler*, that must have belonged to Edward the Fourth, in which *Romul's* name is entirely and unaccountably suppressed. The above may serve as a slight sketch of the romances on the history of the wars of Troy; to describe them all particularly would fill a volume.

It remains to enquire concerning the materials that were used in the construction of this play. Mr. Steevens informs us that Shakspeare received the greatest part of them from the *Troy book* of Lydgate. It is presumed that the learned commentator would have been nearer the fact had he substituted the *Troy book* or receipt translated by Caxton from *Romul le Fierre*; which, together with a translation of Homer, supplied the incidents of the Trojan war. Lydgate's work was becoming obsolete, whilst the other was at this

then in the prime of its vigour. From its first publication to the year 1617, it had passed through six editions, and continued to be popular even in the eighteenth century. Mr. Soemmerring is still less accurate in stating *Le Fier's* work to be a translation from Guido of Colonna; for it is only in the latter part that he has made any use of him. Yet Guido actually had a French translator before the time of Racine; which translation, though never printed, is remaining in MS. under the whimsical title of "*La vie de la prison destruction de la noble et repellante cité de Troye le grant. Traduite en François lan mccccxxx;*" and at the end it is called "*Liste des plaintes de la destruction de Troye le grant.*" Such part of our play as relates to the loves of Troilus and Cressida was most probably taken from Chaucer, as no other work, accessible to Shakspeare, could have supplied him with what was necessary.



TIMON OF ATHENS.

ACT I.

Scene 1. Page 551.

Enter Antippos.

"See the character of a cyclic study drawn by Lucian in his *Sketches of the philosophers*; and how well Shakespeare has copied it," says Dr. Warburton; who took it for granted that our author could read Lucian out of English. Until this can be proved, or that any English translation of the above piece existed in Shakespeare's time, we are at liberty to doubt how far Apemantus is a copy from Lucian, or rather to believe that he is a highly finished portrait after a very slight sketch by Plutarch.

ACT IV.

Scene 3. Page 557.

Tim. Oho, [*Exit*] where the spectral-brood and shagreened
Would run the galleys on, the watchmen call upon
To stir the April day again.

It had been better to have withdrawn Dr. John-

son's note, for he has entirely misconceived the meaning of this part of Timon's speech. He has mistaken the person who was to be *enfeathered* to the April day again, and supposed, without reason, that the wedding day is here called April or *fools* day. Mr. Pollard has already corrected the first of these errors, and properly explained the April day to mean the *friskiness* of youth. See a description of April from an old calendar in vol. i. p. 71. The word *day* in this instance is equivalent with *time*.

Sc. 2. p. 535.

TIM. To the *sub-far* and the *sub*.

What this *sub* was may be seen at large in Dr. Bellin's *Ballards of defence*, fo. 87 b. and in his *Book of compounds*, fo. 41, 43.

In a former note a conclusion was too hastily drawn concerning the origin of *Carnelian's* sub. It was stated that it took its name from the hero of Randolph's pleasant comedy of *Cornelianus dolens*, but the term is much older, being mentioned in Lodge's *Mixt memoirs*, 1596, 4to, sig. F sig. b. Its origin therefore remains in a state of uncertainty; for what Descent has left us in his *Plorandus amor*, can only be regarded as a piece of pleasantry.

SCHEER. As for Diogenes that faked much, and took his
 habitation in a tub, to make the world believe
 he had a strict and severe life, he took the
 dirt, sir, and in that very tub stool for the
 French disease.

TIME. And some adorned apothecary wares, now
 calling 'em roses, call'd it a-Corneliana. *Act II.*

There is yet another passage which may be
 worth inserting, as it throws a gleam of light on
 this obscure term. It is from *The Jew of drink-
 ing*, 1607, 1610, p. 28. "Like hils they cling
 close about *Cornelina's* bottle; till drops surprise
 them, oblivion divide them, and drive *Cornelina*
 guide them to his rail."

See also p. 604.

TIME. The sea 's a thief, whose liquid rage seizes
 The moon and calls it rose.

Some difficulty has arisen in the course of the
 notes on this passage to account for the manner
 in which the sea could despoil the moon of its
 moisture and change it into mine tears. It has
 been judiciously remarked by one of the com-
 mentators, that we are not to attend on these oc-
 casions merely to philosophical truth, but to con-
 sider what might have been the received or vul-
 gar notions of the time: yet no example of such
 notions applicable to the present occasion has

been produced. The following may perhaps serve to supply this defect, and to establish at the same time the genuineness of the text: "The meaner goddess drives in the fire, for she purgeth the virtue of his measure in the fire, and changeth the eye in a manner that is unseemly, and breedeth and gendereth drives in the utter part thereof." *Bartholomæus De prophet. re. rom.*, lib. vii. c. 29.

ACT V.

Scene A. Page 405.

Alcibi. What has a wretched man do,

There is a fourth epilogue on Timon, which is scarcely worth mentioning, but as it perhaps completes the list, and might even, as well as that in Kotzel and Panzer, have suggested the slight alteration made by Shakspeare. It is in Patis's translation of Guazzo's *Chiffre conversacion*, 1599, 4to, lib. 3, as follows;

"Here doe I lie, so use the name
I hereafter will want to bee,
Then reader never take my name,
A wretched and God send so thee."

THE FOOL.

THE fool in this play is a very obscure and insignificant character. Dr. Johnson's conjecture that he belongs to one of Alcibiades's palætroches is extremely probable. Many ancient prints conduce to show that women of this description were attended by buffoons; and there is good reason for supposing, partly from the same kind of evidence, that in most brothels such characters were maintained to amuse the guests by their broad jokes and unscrupulous raillery. In *Ménage à trois* we have such a person, who is also a tapster; and in *Henry and Cleopatra*, Act I. Sc. I. we hear of a *strumpet's fool*.

The dress, in the present instance, should be a party-coloured garment, with a hood and women's ears, and a cock's comb. He might also carry a bubble.

CORIOLANUS.

ACT I.

Scene I. Page 19.

Blas. Even to the heart, the heart,—to the seat of the brain.

Mrs. MALONE has most ingeniously shown that the heart here signifies the seat of the brain, that is, of the understanding; and this is conformable to the old philosophy. Thus our English Play, Bartholomew Glanville, informs us, from Aristotle, that the substance of the brain being cold, it is placed before the well of heat, which is, the heart; and that small veins proceed from the heart, of which is made a marvellous coat wherein the brain is wrapped. *De prop. rerum*, lib. v. c. 3. On this ground, the heart has been very appositely made the seat of reason; and accordingly in another place, Glanville tells us that in the heart is “all business and knowing.”

If the above able commentator be right in his chronology of this play, and then appears to be

no reason for doubting that he is so, the present lines must have been imitated by a contemporary writer of great ability and poetical talents, though undeservingly obscure. This is W. Parker, who calls himself a student of Barnard's ion. In his work entitled *The courtiers-dresser of the world*, 1618, 4to, he has two passages which bear so strong a resemblance, that a mere coincidence of thought is entirely out of the question. This is the first, in p. 6. "If any man arise from the court, as from the head, it immediately descends to the dials, or the heart, from thence dressed downe to the country, as the head: and so like an endless hose or thence, runs through the whole head." The other is in p. 13. "For whereas that member was ordained for a light and window, and as a true interpreter to expose and expound the considerations, and conceits, and purposes of that hidden darke and secret privy-counsellour that sits within the chaine and breast and bowels of every living man, it many times doth helpe, and frege, and flatter, and speaks then most faire when the deepest deceit and treachery is intended: not the face, nor the dagger, nor the whole hand: no not the whole body, nor all the members thereof, either severally, by themselves, or joyntly together (this one

erely excepted) that doth so stretch, and draw, and finger, and fold and unfold this curtain or canopy to the daily use and decent of ladies and others, as it alone doth."

It is rather extraordinary that none of Shakespeare's commentators should have noticed the skillful manner in which he has diversified and expanded the well known apologue of the *felly and the members*, the origin of which it may be neither uninteresting nor unprofitable to investigate, as well as the manner in which it has been used, and by whom.

The composition has been generally ascribed to Minutius Agrippa; but as it occurs in a very ancient collection of *Æsopian fables*, there may be as much reason for supposing it the invention of *Æsop* as there is for making him the parent of many others. The first person who has introduced Minutius as reciting this fable is Dionysius of Halicarnassus, book 6. Then follow Livy, lib. 9; Plutarch, in the life of Coriolanus; Florus, lib. 1. cap. 22; each of whom gives it in his own manner. During the middle ages there appeared a collection of Latin fables in hexameter verse, that has agitated the opinions of the learned to little purpose in their endeavours to ascertain the real name of the compiler or versifier. He has been

called *Romulus*, *Arctus* and *Salm*. Nor is the time when he lived at all known. These fables are sometimes called *encomiæ*, and have been published in various forms. An excellent edition by Nibant appeared in 1708, 1710. Many of them were translated into French some in the sixteenth century by a French lady who calls herself *Mlle de Fosse*, in which form they have been happily preserved with many others extremely curious composed by the same ingenious person, on whose life and writings a most valuable memoir has been communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, by the author's truly learned and amiable friend the Abbé Gournay de la Rue, professor of History in the university of Caen. William Herman of Gouda, in Holland, reduced them into Latin prose about the year 1590, striking some, and adding others. The works of *Romulus* and *Herman* of Gouda, have been published in a great variety of forms and languages, and constitute the sort of *Æsopian fables* which commences with that of the cock and the precious stones, in all which the apologue of the belly and the members is to be found, and sometimes with considerable variation. What Camden has given is from *Salm* of Salisbury, who wrote in the reign of Henry the Second, and professes to have received it

from Pope Hadrian IV. See his *Polycricon*, *ant. de regis curiosis*, l. vi. c. 16. Camden has copied the latter part; and the learned reader will do well to consult the original, where he will find some verses by Q. Sennius Sannonicus, a physician in the reign of Caracalla, that allude to the fable. John of Salisbury has himself composed two hundred Latin lines *De somnorum significacionibus*, which are in the first edition of his *Polycricon* printed at Bruchel, without date, about 1470. These were reprinted by Andream Rivinus at Leipzig, 1655, 8vo; and Barden at the end of the fourth volume of Fabricius's *Bibliotheca mediæ et infimæ ætatis*, Hamburg, 1758, 8vo. They are, most probably, the lines which are called in Slater's catalogue of the MSS. at Rome, "*Carmina Quindæ de observatione ventris et intestinorum*," vol. iii. p. 126. Nor was this fable unknown in the Eastern world. Synesius, a Pontian fabulist, has placed it in his work, published, for the first time, from a MS. at Moscow, by Matthæus. Lips. 1781, 8vo. Lafontaine has related it in his own inimitable manner; and, lastly, the editor of Baskerville and Dobbey's *Æsop* has given it in a style not inferior perhaps to that of any of his predecessors.

Sc. 4. p. 85.

Blas. All the malignities of the south light on you.

See the note on Caliban's similar wish, "A south-west blow on you," in vol. i. p. 9.

ACT II.

Scene 1. Page 77.

Blas. The Naples virtues of humanity,

"The players used the *Naples*," says Mr. Bosworth; but the players are right, and the fault was with the printer in giving the word with a capital letter. The revolution *des* in old books is very frequently spelled with a single *s*; so that Mr. Rowe's change scarcely deserves the name of a correction.

ACT IV.

Sc. 1. Page 148.

Cor. I shall be he'd when I am he'd.

That Cause is *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act I.

So. 4, "And the child's man comes dear'd by
being lack'd." We have still preserved this pro-
verbial saying in another form. Mother Cole
says, "when people are ruin'd, then they are
mour'd." It is, in fact, Hamlet's "eunuchus
another idem."



JULIUS CÆSAR.

ACT I.

Scene 1. Page 154.

Cæ. Now is a Rome indeed, and room enough.

THIS juggle of words is deserving of notice on no other account than as it shows the pronunciation of *Rome* in Shakespeare's time.

Sc. 2. p. 155.

Cæ. Why old men fools, and children children.

In this manner has the former penetration of the line, which had a *caesura* after *men*, been disturbed at the suggestion of Sir W. Blackstone, and thereby rendered extremely unsmooth if not unintelligible. He observes that there is no prudence in old men's calculating from their past experience; but the poet means old dotards in a second state of childhood. With the supposed power of divination in *fools*, few are unacquainted.

ed. The that happens to be so may contain the popular history of Nixon, the Christian prophet.

ACT II.

Scene 2. Page 259.

Cal. When I began this, there was no more to see,
The leaves themselves that deck the death of
prince.

This might have been suggested by what Suetonius has related of the blazing star which appeared for seven days together, during the celebration of games instituted by Augustus in honour of Julius. The common people believed that this comet indicated his reception among the gods; and not only his statues were accordingly consecrated with an figure, but medals were struck on which it was represented. One of these, struck by Augustus, is here exhibited.



Pliny relates that a comet appeared before the death of Claudius, B.C. A. C. 43; and Geoffrey of Monmouth speaks of one that preceded the death of Aurdinus Ambrosius; but the comets would have appeared though the men had not died, and the men would not have lived longer had the comets never been seen.

Æt. B. p. 301.

Æt. Plucking the stomach of an offering forth

They could not find a heart within the breast.

Cæs. The gods do this in shame of covetousness.

Cæsar should be a heart without a heart,

If he should stop at home to day, for this.

Dr. Johnson remarks on this occasion, that
 "the ancients did not place courage in the heart."
 He had forgotten his classical strategy.

"*Non enim apud, Ætæ, esse putaverunt*"

Æt. B. 301.

"*————— Juvencus, de-clausus Juvencus*

Patet ———,"

Æt. A. 301.

"*————— Tractatus ministeriis inchoat arde.*" Æt. B. 30.

"*————— Marcus, Titus,*

Cæsar Marcus ——— " Ovid. Metam. B. B. day

"*Cæsar patet conditione, nullo modo interit manu.*"

Ovid. Metam. B. B. 30-4

¹⁴ *De jure alienante talente amplius vocis."*

Orat. Epist. civ. 18.

¹⁵ *Mane qua juvenem digne pectus habuit."*

Orat. Epist. civ. 19th.

ACT III.

Scene I. Page 223.

*Ant. ***** for mine eyes,*

*Seeing these heads of men stand in thine,
Began to weep.*

We have a similar exposition in *The Tempest*,
Act V. Sc. 1., where Prospero says,

¹⁶ *Holy Gods, honourable men,*

*Must eyes even visible to the stars of thine,
Fall silently drops."*



ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.

ACT I.

Scene 1. Page 410.

Ant. Let Rome in Thermae! and the wide arch
Of the ranged empire fall! Here is my space.

*As range signifies compass, extent, as the verb seems to be used, rather horizontally, in the present instance, in the sense of spread, extended. It may be doubted, at least, whether there be any allusion to a triumphal arch, as Dr. Warburton supposed, or even of a fabric standing on pillars, according to Dr. Johnson. The wide arch may refer to the vast concave of the Roman world, its wide domains covered by the arch of Aeneas, which has been beautifully styled by some oriental writer "the sun-bolt arch of heaven." See *The tales of Iuvénale* by Dow, vol. i. p. 78.*

Sc. 3. p. 460.

CLAU. O my oblivion is a very Antony
And I am all forgotten.

She compares her memory to Antony, and says she is treacherously abandoned and neglected by him. Mr. Steevens's explanation of the first line is satisfactory; but one cannot well agree with him or Mason, that "I am all forgotten" can possibly mean, "I forget myself, or every thing."

ACT II.

Scene 4. Page 460.

ANT. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ get his quills
Ere he set upon, whelp'd at odds.

It may be doubted whether quail-fighting was practised in Shakespeare's time, though Dr. Farmer appears to have thought so; but when our poet speaks of their being whelp'd, he might suppose that Caesar's or Antony's quails, which he found in Plutarch, were trained to handle like game cocks in a ring or circle. However plausibly read whelp'd, but no change is necessary.

Quail combats were well known among the ancients, and especially at Athens. Pictus Polux relates that a circle was made in which the birds were placed, and he whose quail was driven out of this circle lost the stake, which was sometimes money, and occasionally the quails themselves. Another practice was to produce one of these birds, which being first scabbed or clipped with the middle finger, a feather was then plucked from its head: if the quail bore this operation without flinching, his master gained the stake, but lost it if he ran away. The Chinese have been always extremely fond of quail-fighting, as appears from most of the accounts of that people, and particularly in Mr. Bell's excellent relation of his travels to China, where the reader will find much curious matter on the subject. See vol. i. p. 424, edit. in 8vo. We are told by Mr. Munster that the Sumatran Skavins use these birds in the manner of game cocks. The annexed copy from an elegant Chinese miniature painting represents some ladies engaged at this amusement, where the quails are actually *takep'd*.

—————

Sc. 3. p. 491.

CLAU. ———— 'Twas never, when

 You wapt'd as you sing; when you danc'd

Tell long : sub-fish on his back, which he
 With ferocity drew up

This incident, which, as Mr. Stevens has already remarked, was borrowed from Plutarch, probably suggested a story related by Nante, "of a scholar in Cambridge, that standing angling on the town-bridge there, as the country people on the market day passed by, scornfully bought him hooks with a red herring with a bell about the neck, and so conveying it into the water that no man perceived it, all on the sudden, when he had a company there gathered about him, up he took it agayne, and layd it openly before them, wherunto the gaping rascal fishes, driven into no less admiration than the common people about London some few years since were at the holding of blower-ditch, were by their clamor-sounds that as many dayes and yeeres as they had lived, they never saw such a miracle of a red herring taken in the fresh water before." *Lessons taught, or praise of the red herring*, 1599, 4to, p. 65. But Cleopatra's trick was of a different nature. Antony had failed unacceptably in her presence, and she had laughed at him. The next time therefore he directed the boatman to dive under the water and attach a fish to his back. The queen perceived the stratagem, but

affecting not to notice it, congratulated him on his success. Another time, however, she determined to laugh at him once more, and gave orders to her own people to get the start of his slaves, and put some dried antelope on his back.

See, *l.* p. 469.

Class. Faint insensate 'wags not the thunder bolt.

This alludes to a superstitious notion among the ancients, that they who were stricken with lightning were honoured by Jupiter and therefore to be accounted holy. Their bodies were supposed not to putrify, and after having been shown for a certain time to the people, were not buried in the usual manner, but buried on the spot where the lightning fell, and a monument erected over them. Seneca, however, held a contrary opinion. See the various notes on the line in *Percula*,

"*Ubi jace hunc, horrendumque tumens,*" *Sat. ii.*

The ground also that had been stricken by a thunder-bolt was accounted sacred, and afterwards hallowed: nor did any one presume to walk on it. This we learn from Festus, "*fulguribus, id quod est fulmine ictum, qui locus sanctus fuit*

potiorum religionem, quod cum Deis alii dicere videretur." These places were therefore consecrated to the gods, and could not in future become the property of any one.

—

Ec. 7. p. 512.

It *Sees* I had as lief have a rod that will do me no service, as a partner I could not have.

Dr. Johnson says the *perizon* is a pike, and so say many of our dictionaries; but it was in reality a weapon between a pike and a halbert. Not being so long as the former, it was made use of in trenching, in mounding a breach, and in attacking or defending a lodgment; on all which occasions the pike would have been unmanageable. Its upper extremity resembled that of a halbert, but was longer and broader. In more modern times it wanted the cutting axe which belongs to the halbert, though in that used by the old Saxons and Germans it seems to have had it. The etymology of the word has been much controverted, but appears to lie between the Latin *perizon* and the German *bert*, an axe, whence *berdite*, a little axe. Shakespeare himself has distinguished it from the pike, "Let us make

hid with our piles and pardons a grave." *Cymbeline*, Act iv. Sc. 2.

Sc. 7. p. 218.

Eva. Drink thou; warm the vein.

Here is some corruption, and unless it was originally *weath*, the sense is irrecoverable. In all events Mr. Stevens has erred in saying that "*weat* was not in our author's time, employed to signify a *dinner*." The following passage in a book with which the learned editor was well acquainted, and which had escaped his excellent memory, proves the contrary. "Agnes Tompson was after brought againe before the king's maiesty and confessed that upon the night of All-hallowe even last, she was accompanied with a great many wretches to the number of two hundred; and that all they together went by sea each one in a riddle or diew, and went in the same very merrily with faggots of wine making mummings and drinking by the waye in the same riddles or diews, to the berke of North Burwick in Lowtham, and that after they had landed, wretche bands on the land, and danced this *weat* or short dinner, singing all with one voice,

"*Come we get ye before, come we get ye,
O! ye will not get before, come we before!*"

At which time she confessed, that Golden Duncane did goe before them playing this reell or dance upon a small trumpet, call a Jewes trumpet, until they entered into the hark of North Berwick." *Notes from Scotland declaring the damnable life and death of doctor Fier, a notable sorcerer, who was burned at Edinbrough in January last, 1591.* sign. B li.

ACT III.

Scene 6. Page 243.

Cas. ————— The wife of Antony
Should have as many lay as mine.

An *usher* is a person who introduces others ceremoniously, though originally a door-keeper, from the French *usher*, and that from *ais*, aisle. This is no otherwise worth the mention, than to mark the corrupt orthography of the word, which ought to be written *usher*. Thus *Spenser*,

"A gentle *usher*, usher by name,

Made answer, and gave us the doors all open."

Eden's poems, B. v. Canto 4, st. 13.

Cassius did the servant of Cardinal Wolsey, speaking of his master's arrest by the Earl of

Hartshornberland, says, "he took the Duke by the hand, and led him in to his bed chamber. And they being there all alone, save only I who kept the door according to my duty, being gentleman usher, &c." *Life of Walney, MS.*

Sc. 8. p. 344.

Cap. ——— and here presented
The extent of our loss.

Mr. Stevens, in claiming the merit of this necessary change from *circumstances*, had forgotten that it had been already made by Sir Thomas Hanmer.

—

Sc. 8. p. 344.

Cap. ——— Which was to be granted,
Being so strict 'twixt us and her.

The change was made by Dr. Warburton from *abstract*, which he declares to be absurd, but, as an excellent critic has remarked, it has been made very unnecessarily. The canon somewhere had down, viz. that where the old text is capable of a meaning, no alteration should be hazarded, ought to have been observed in this instance. The sense is obviously, "Octavia does

94 ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.

away or abstracted Cleopatra from Antony," and she might therefore be very properly called in Shakspeare's bold language, an abstract.

Another reason for retaining the old reading is, that, generally speaking, Dr. Warburton's emendations are inadmissible.

—————

Sc. II. p. 183.

ANT. If from the field I shall never come more
To see these eyes, I will appear in blood—
I will be terrible—dreaded, fearful,
And fight valiantly : for when mine hour
Was near and deadly, men did reckon lives
Of me for gold—

The word *nice*, sometimes used by Shakspeare in a sense bordering on that of *conscious* or *suspicious*, seems in the present instance to have precisely that meaning. Antony says that his former luxurious hours with Cleopatra were fortunate to those who asked his dream, but that now he will appear in blood. The historian Scowe, in recording an accident that happened to one Mary Browne in the year 1555, says that she "had been accused by her husband to have a nice awareness of her body." We have also an old play entitled *The nice woman*.

Sc. 11. p. 589.

Enr. ————— and in that mood,

The dove will peck the stranger—

i. e. the falcon. See the note in vol. i. p. 488, line.

ACT IV.

Scene 5. Page 611.

1. Enr. ————— so had a proper

Was never put for sleeping.

2. Enr.

Go on to him.

In the old copy sleep. The alteration is by Mr. Stevens, and, as he says, for the sake of measure; but that was already complete. The harmony is certainly improved, as the accent is to be laid on *re* in the ending line.

Sc. 12. p. 624.

Ant. My good loves, Enr. now thy captain is

Here such a body — here I am Antony;

Yet cannot hold this wretched stage, my loves

I made these wars for Egypt, and the queen, —

Whom I lov'd, I thought, I lov'd, for she lov'd me;

————— she, Enr. has

Part'd with Cassius, and false play'd my glory

Unto an enemy's triumph.

One should really suppose that Shakespeare had written this speech just after having lost a game at cards, and before the manner in which it had been played was out of his mind. Dr. Warburton's explanation is too superficial to merit the commendation which Dr. Johnson has bestowed on it. That of Mr. Malone is much more judicious and satisfactory; but it has not been perceived that a marked and particular allusion is intended. This is to the old card game of *trump*, which bore a very strong resemblance to our modern *whist*. It was played by two against two, and sometimes by three against three. It is thus mentioned in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, *l. c.* 2. "We be fast set at *trump* now, hand by the fist;" and likewise in Dekker's *Servants of London*, among other card games. In Elton's *Pricks for the French*, 1595, p. 20, it is called "a verie common richesse game in England;" and Rice, in his *Invective against vice*, 1590, b. 1. c. 4. but printed before 1600, speaking of sharpers' tricks at cards, mentions "assaulting the *trumps* and coming in againe." The Italians call it *trionfante*; see Florio's dictionary. In Capello's poem on *Primero*, another card game, 1595, &c., it is called *trump*, and assigned to the peasants. Minerva, in his

Spanish dialogue, p. 22, makes it a game for old men. We, in all probability, received it from the French example, which occurs in Rabelais as one of Gargantua's games. The term indicates a winning or triumphant card; and therefore there can be no pretence for deriving it from *crump*, whatever Ben Jonson might have thought to the contrary, who, in reality, seems only to indulge in a pun upon the word.

Sc. II. p. 677.

ANT. I will create thee, Cleopatra, and
 Whip for my portion. So it must be, die now
 All length is tedious.

Mr. Stevens suspects that the author wrote *lye*; surely without reason. Length is extension or protraction of *lye*.

THE CLOWN.

He is a mere country fellow; but Shakspeare, in compliance with the usual expectations of the audience, has bestowed on him a due portion of wit and satire.

CYMBELINE.

ACT I.

Scene 2. Page 14.

Enter, ~~.....~~ *Ides*

*A man worth any tragedy, swears me
About the man he pays*

Ides has already been so ingeniously interpreted, that there is considerable harm in the offer of any other conjecture on the subject; yet, may not *Ides* mean, "the possession of me is much too dearly bought by the *Ides* to which you sentence him; he has almost nothing for so large a price."

Ides. *Ides*. p. 17.

Enter *Ides*, *Ides* *Ides*.

Ides having shown that this name is borrowed from the Italian *Ides*, it should be printed *Ides*, in order to prevent any mistake in the pronunciation.

ACT II.

SCENE 2. Page 93.

Enter Pisanides and the tempters of the night.
Guard me, towards yet!

See vol. i. p. 505.

SC. 2. p. 75.

Hark, hark, the lark at heaven's gate sings.

The frequent mention of the lark, especially among our older poets, has been already exemplified in a variety of corresponding passages with the above, which either Shakespeare might have imitated, or which are imitations from him. To these the following may be added.

"On murres the sea doth spring
 And the lark begins her song."

Romance of the Coast. 1618

"Even at the twilight in the dawning
 When the larks of constant growth sing
 For to salute in her heavenly lays
 The lady goddess of the murens group."

Lydgate's Song of Troys. B. i.

"When the lark's messenger of day
Of conscious eye / harvests forth mine,
With melody notes her tongue in measure,
On Flavia's eye to joys and glimmers?"
Lyly's *Two of Three*, B. m.

"Uprising the golden castle melody,
With clear drops' happy chrysalides,
Gilding the airy fields in their nest:
On Flavia was a purpure leap rest:
Uprising the lark, the heaven's repeated tune
In map small a measure worth delight."

Deane's *Golden Song*.

"With many notes her loud voice the morning lark."
Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, B. I. Cantos. vi. 11.

"Early, cheerful, morning lark,
Light's gentle voice, morning's cheer,
In many notes delighting;
Sweet while they sing, and swift,
And leave up new writing

"Hear ye this hymn, so true 't is true
E'en up to heaven, and sing it there," &c.
Deane's *Altered Hymn*, 1899.

"----- and then my star,
(Like to the lark, at break of day writing
From million earth) sings hymns at heaven's gate,"
Shakespeare's *As You Like It*.

"The lark that left her nest, her nest, her song,
And only meaning, that with her sweet song
Sailed heaven."
Nesbitt's *London Anthology*, 1895, 1896.

" And the lark from out the silver,
 Flare upright on mistle wings,
 And at the gate of heaven sings."

Prose. In Dudley's collection, vol. iv.

St. 4. p. 88.

Text. The model the chamber
 With golden cherubins is decked; but modern
 (I had forgot them) were two winged Cupids
 Of silver, each on one foot standing, nearly
 Depending on their heads.

Mr. Stevens calls the golden cherubins a too-dry image, and proceeds, justly enough, to ridicule as idle representation of the heavenly chairs; but the poet must be cleared from any imputation of blame. He is not accountable for the fashions or follies of his age, and has, in this instance, given a faithful description of the mode in which the rooms in great houses were sometimes ornamented. That brands were these parts of the andiron which supported the wood, according to Mr. Whalley, remains to be proved. The Cupids would not lean or hang over these bars, but rather stand with their faces turned from them, and opposite to the spectator. The brands are more likely to have been the inverted torches mentioned by Mr. Stevens.

Ec. 3. p. 54.

FORT. No of my lawful pleasure she returns'd,
And pray'd me, soft, *Indifference* did it
With a jealousy to keep, &c.

A needless note on this speech, which would make our poet equally vulgar and obscure, when he was expressing a sentiment of the most refined delicacy, may be well dispensed with in any future edition.

ACT III.

Scene 1. Page 60.

CYR. Our master was the *Malerian*, which
Othello's ear from ~~was~~
~~was~~ *Malerian*,
Was was the first of *Belian*, &c.

The judicious and necessary omission of the words "made our law," after the second *Malerian*, originally belongs to Sir Thomas Hanmer, who would have deserved more thanks from his readers for his regulations of Shakespeare's verse, if they had not been too frequently made without a proper regard to the accuracy of the text.

Sc. 1. p. 100.

Ors. Thy Cœur *insignifiance*.

Although our old writers frequently make mention of *Roman Insights*, that is, military chieftains, it is very much to be apprehended that the present expression must be regarded as a downright anachronism, as well as another similar passage in p. 113, where Cymbeline addresses Belarius and his sons: "How your knees; arise, my *insights* of the battle, &c." The word *insight* was formerly used with great latitude. Dr. Halley calls Diocædides "that old famous Egyptian *insight*."

—————

Sc. 2. p. 103.

Im. (Some girls are *mat'cinable*;) that is one of them,
For it doth *physick* her;—

The whole of this should be included in the parenthesis, as in Mr. Malone's edition. No reason has been assigned by Mr. Bosworth for the variation, which may be an error of the press.

—————

Sc. 3. p. 117.

Im. *—————* *Aspeth*,
Thou wast their *curator*.

The above name might have been borrowed

from the story of Amphitrone and Eripheia, in
Patin's *Peuple palace*, 1838, 465.

—————

Sc. 4. A. 180.

Imo, ————— whose image
Obeys all the words of Holo.

So in the anonymous play of *Why Image*,
"What image were you than the serpent's tongue."

It is difficult to say which is the imitation.

—————

ACT IV.

Scene 1. Page 184.

Imo, Enter Holo and Imo.

This speech has exercised the talents of a certain ingenious female illustrator of Shakspeare, who has endeavored to delineate the character of Imogen, and indeed the whole of the play. She degrades our heroine into a mere kitchen wench, and adverts to what she calls her astronomical education. Now what is this but to expose her own ignorance of ancient manners? If she had misused the advantage of qualifying herself as a commentator on Shakspeare's plots by a perusal

of our old romances, she ought at least to have remembered, what every well informed woman of the present age is acquainted with, the education of the princes in Homer's *Odyssey*. It is idle to attempt to judge of ancient simplicity by a mere knowledge of modern manners; and such fastidious critics had better close the book of Shakspeare for ever. In another part of her critique on this play, she condemns the giving of the drug to Imogen which Pisanio had received from the queen, from an idea that he was sufficiently warned of its asperific quality; and she positively states that the physician had, by a whisper, informed Pisanio of its property; not one word of which is to be found in Shakspeare. So much for the criticism and accuracy of a work to which Dr. Johnson condescended to write a dedication. He has likewise too often confided in its opinions in the course of several of his remarks on Shakspeare's plays.

—————

Sc. 2. p. 185.

Gen. Know'st me not by my chains?

Gen. No, nor thy father, nor,

Mrs. Stevens's comment on has on this, perhaps

single, occasion, been deceived. He objects to the suggestion, as "at once superfluous and injurious to the metre;" yet it is impossible to read the line harmoniously without it. Nor does it constitute the superfluity of the metre, which has, exclusively, two redundant syllables. If any alteration were allowable, it might be the following,

"Hav'n't not my clothes! No, nor thy tailor, need!"

Sc. II. p. 144.

Im. O thou goddess,
Thou divine nature, how thyself thou blest!—

This judicious observation from *thou thyself* does, claimed by one learned gentleman and adopted by another, is the original property of Sir Thomas Hawkes.

Sc. II. p. 145.

Gen. With female spirits will his soul be haunted.

i. e. harmless and protecting spirits, not spirits of a mischievous nature.

SC. 2. p. 159.

Gen. And wars will not come to this.

Mr. Stephens imputes great violence to this change of person, and would read "come to him;" but there is no impropriety in Guiderius's sudden address to the *body* itself. It might indeed be ascribed to our author's careless manner, of which an instance like the present occurs at the beginning of the next act, where Posthumus says,

"----- you married me,

If such of you would take this course, how many

Mist would win much better than themselves."

SC. 2. p. 162.

Gen. ----- the subject's world,

With observable fall,—bring down all this;

You and that of new heading, when flowers are gone

To winter-ground lay down.

The question made by Dr. Pory, whether the notion of the redoubt covering dead bodies be older than the celebrated belief of the ladies of the wood, has been satisfactorily answered in the affirmative by Mr. Reed's note. In Dekker's *Filissæ discovered by her horns and candle*

Agile, 1616, &c., it is said: "They that stare up a prisoner but with their sight, are Robin red breasts that bring crowns in their bills to cover a dead man in execution." See chap. ix.

With respect to *winter-ground*, until some other example of the use of this word be produced, there will be no impropriety in offering a substitute in *winter-green*, that is, "so persons dry such green with moss in the winter season, when there will be no flowers wherewith to deck it." Such a verb might have been suggested to Shakespeare, who often errs in this way, by the plant *winter-green*, the *pyrola*.

Raddled was the Saxon name, *prætor*, for the redbreast, and long continued to be so. In Bullock's *Essay*, 1565, 1566, there is a fable "Of a fowler and the bird call'd *Rabbin-red-breast*," which concludes in these words: "Then the fowler, hap of-taking many being lost, when it was now tyme too-ent, drawing the nets, he caught only on *Rabbin-raddled*, which being unhappy [unlucky] had shydd all in the strap."

Sc. 2. p. 174.

Iam. O'er's pinions!

Mr. Swenson's derivation from God's my pig,

is not quite correct. It is rather from God's
 Japs, diminutively used by the addition of *lin*.
 In this manner we have 'ed's *indolence*.

ON THE STORY OF THIS PLAY.

For the plot of *Cymbeline*, Shakspeare has
 been almost exclusively indebted to Booccaccio's
 novel of *Bernabo Lonsella*, Day 2, novel 8, as
 Mr. Malone has proved beyond the possibility of
 doubt. Unless we suppose, what is not probable,
 that Shakspeare was acquainted with the Italian
 language, or that he had heard the above novel
 read by some person in English, a difficulty arises
 in accounting for the manner in which he got
 access to it. The earliest English translation of
 the whole of the *Decamerone*, was first printed
 in 1600, by Isaac Iaggard, in folio, and in two
 parts, the first of which was republished under
 the title of *The model of wit, mirth, eloquence
 and conversation, drawn in ten days of an hun-
 dred curious pieces, by seven honourable ladies,
 and three noble gentlemen, preserved to posterity
 by the renowned John Booccaccio the first of the*

of Italian prose, and now translated into English, 1625, in folio. See more on this subject in a preceding note vol. I. p. 165. Had Shakspeare been intimately acquainted with Boissac's *Decamerone*, one should have expected that he would have made considerable use of that work; but this is the only play in which the most material part of the plot has been extracted from it. There are indeed one or two instances in which a very slight use has been made of it, but then evidently through the medium of an English translation. Is it not possible that our author might have known French enough to have occasionally read the *Decamerone* in that language?



TITUS ANDRONICUS.

ACT III.

Scene I. Page 376.

Lucius Andronicus bound to Aaron's sleeping eyes.

His is not here commending the beauty of his eyes, but adverting to their power of *fixation*. This was anciently supposed a peculiar quality of the eye, and many recitation or amulet were used to charm away its power.

Sc. 2. p. 387.

TAM. While heeds, will hears, and sweet melodious birds,
Be unto us, as it is unto a rook;
Oh lullaby, to bring her hush asleep.

We have here a *carolous lullaby note*, which, as well as the poem, may possibly have a drowsy effect on all readers but staunch antiquaries and etymologists. For the benefit therefore of the latter it may be observed, that Dr. Johnson is

probably mistaken in supposing that the name's word *ly* signifies sleep, whereas that as a contraction of *lullaby*. It is to be wished that Mr. Hall White had furnished us with some proof that *to lull* originally signified *to sleep*, and that its present sense, *to comfort to sleep by a pleasing sound*, is but a secondary one, retained after the primitive import had become obsolete. The same ingenious critic proceeds to state that *ly* means *lower*, and therefore *lullaby* is *to go to lower or cradle*. There is so much plausibility in this conjecture that it is almost a pity to be obliged to dissent from it. Though it cannot be disputed that *ly* signifies a *dwelling*, it is perceived that this sense is as unconnected with the word in question as Dr. Johnson's *sleep*. It would be a hopeless task to trace the origin of the northern verb *to lull*, which means *to sing gently*; but it is evidently connected with the Greek *lalaia*, *laper*, or *lalia*, the sound made by the brach as *wa*. Thus much is certain, that the Roman nurses used the word *lula* to quiet their children, and that they feigned a deity called *Lulua*, whom they invoked on that occasion; the lullaby or tune itself was called by the same name. An *lullere* meant *to sing lula*, *to lull* might in like manner denote the singing of the nurse's lullaby to in-

dance the child to sleep. Thus in an ancient carol composed in the fifteenth century, and preserved among the *Stowe MSS.* No. 2595 :

"the very steps of her lullaby
have done won our purpose."

In another old ballad printed by Mr. Ritson in his *Stanzas*, p. 168, the lullaby is "lolly, lolly, lullaby, lullaby, sweete baby, &c.," from which it seems probable that *lullaby* is only a comparatively modern contraction of *lolly lolly*, the first word being the legitimate offspring of the Roman *lula*. In another of these pieces still more ancient, and printed in the same collection, we have, "lullay, lullow, lully, lorry, lulla lora lora." The Welsh appear to have been famous for their lullaby songs. Jones, in his *Art and science of preserving health and soul*, 1579, 8vo, says, "The best nurses, but especially the rich and stiffe Welsh women, doe use to sing some pretty sonnets, wherewith their copious tongue is plentifully stored of divers pretty tunes and pleasant ditties, that the children disquieted might be brought to rest: but translated never so well, they want their grace in English, for lacke of proper words: so that I will omit them, as I wish they would their lascivious *Dynas*, wondrous *Lul-las*, and amorous *Eng-las*."

Mr. White, in reviewing his opinion of the etymology of *good-by*, will perhaps incline to think it a contraction, when properly written *good Bye*, *all God be with you*, and not "may your house prosper?"

To add to the stock of our old lullaby songs, two are here subjoined. The first is from a fragment of *The daughter of the innkeeper*, acted at Coventry in the reign of Henry the Eighth, by the taylor and cheerson of that city, and most obligingly communicated by Mr. Sharpe. The other is from the curious volume of songs mentioned before us vol. i. p. 416. Both exhibit the simplicity of ancient manners.

" Lally, lally, then lull two chills,
By by lally lally,
Lally lally then lull two chills,
By by lally lally.

O sweetest son, how may we die,
For us generous this day
This pure yingling, the whom we do sleep
By by lally lally.

Heard the king, in his nighting,
Charged he both the day,
He came of night, in his own right,
All young-children to sleep.

That we are men, poor child for them,
And even mother and my,
For the parting, neither say nor sing,
By by lullay lullay."

"By by lullay
Rocked I my child
In a little late as I lay
He thought I had a mayden-my
And upon the words my little,
My lullay now with the I play
And even the song by lullay
Thus rocked the babe slight
By by lullay,
Rocked I my child by by
Thus marvel I right now of days
A mayden to have a child I weep,
By by lullay,
Thus rocked the babe slight
By by lullay, rocked I my child." Fair

Sc. 5. p. 150.

TAM. O women with more and joyful children.

This epithet is extremely appropriate either conformably to an ancient, but erroneous, opinion, that the berries of the mistletoe were poisonous; or on account of the use made of this plant by the Druids during their detestable human sacrifices.

 ACT III.

Scene 1. Page 355.

TIT. Speak my Larva, what accused hand
Hath made thee homeless in thy father's sight?

Dr. Warhamer says, "we should read *spight*;" but there is no reason for a change for the worse. Titus had made no attempt to prevent the mutilation of his unhappy daughter, nor had it taken place in despite, & c. contempt or hatred of him.

 ACT IV.

Scene 3. Page 355.

TIT. And sick there is no justice in earth nor hell,
We will suborn heavens, and murder the Gods.

Notwithstanding the difference in arrangement, it will hardly be questioned that the author is here indebted to Virgil's

"*Flectere si neque supplex, Achivum moribus.*"

This may be added to the list of classical allusions at the end of the play.

ACT V.

Scene 1. Page 341.

AAA. *An illot holds his health for a God,
And keeps the oath which by that God he swears.*

Even though the *health* here mentioned had been actually of that kind which is alluded to in the course of a note in *Mr's well that ends well*, Act iv., his imagination would be deemed not a little fanciful, who would connect it with the object of the dogstar oath in *Comus*, xlv. 8. There cannot however be a doubt that Aaron refers to that sort of health or sceptre which was usually carried in the hand by natural idiots and allowed jokers, and by which, it may be supposed, they would sometimes swear. The resemblance which it bore to an image or idol suggested the poet's comparison.

Sc. 2. p. 363.

TIT. So, now bring them on, for I will play the oath.

This redundant line ought to be thus arranged and printed.

So,

Now bring them on, for I will play the oath.

Sc. 2. p. 364.

Man, Rome's emperor, and emperor, bend the knee

Dr. Johnson makes the verse "begin the parley." Is it not rather "bend off the point of discourse"? for Lucius and Sempronius had already begun the parley by sparring language: to prevent the continuation of it Marcus intervenes, by declaring that their quarrels must be adjusted by gentle words.

Throughout this play the name *Andronicus* is improperly accented. It should have been *Andronicus*.

THE CLOWN.

He is nothing more than a shrewd rustic, performing the office of a messenger.



PERICLES.

Page 255.

Persepolis]

"**THIS**," says Mr. Stevens, "is an imaginary city, and its name might have been borrowed from some romance. We meet, indeed, in history with *Persepolis* regis, a country in Africa, and from thence perhaps some novelist furnished the sounding title of *Persepolis*," &c. But there was no absolute reason for supposing it a city in this play, as Gower in the *Confessio amantis* had done, a circumstance which had probably misled Mr. Stevens. In the original Latin romance of Apollonius Tyrius it is most accurately called *Persepolis Cyrenarum*, and was, as both Suetonius and Ptolemy inform us, a district of Cyrenæica in Africa, comprising *five* cities, of which Cyrene was one.

 ACT I.

Gower. To sing a song of old was song.

The editor having very properly adopted Mr. Malone's amendment in the text, has forgotten to mention that the former reading was *that* old, and the note is consequently rendered obscure.

 Sc. I. *Æ. 507.*

Fra. See where she comes, apparel'd like the spring,
 Grows her subjects, and her thoughts the king
 Of every virtue —

A transposition of *spring* and *king* has been suggested, but on no solid foundation; nor, it is presumed, is the passage sensibly improved, or even any change necessary. Mr. Stevens asks "With what propriety can a lady's thoughts be styled the king of every virtue?" For this the poet must answer, who evidently designed an allusion to *king* and *subjects*.



Ann. Read the resolution then,
Which read not as expected, 'tis deemed,
As those before Ours, they themselves shall deem.

Conclusion, which formerly signified a trial or experiment, is here put for riddle, itself a trial of skill. The practice of proposing such riddles, with the penalty for not expounding them, is borrowed from ancient romances. In that of *Tristan de Leonnois*, there is a giant who dares all passers-gone that he meets, and puts them to the test of unbinding a riddle. If they fail, he kills them. A hero at length presents himself, who, after explaining the riddle, proposes one in his turn; the giant not being able to expound it, is himself put to death. The construction of these riddles is the same as that in the play, as will appear from the following specimen:

10 *Je t'en salue par là*
 Que j'ai vu dans une autre parole ;
 Et cet air qui te fait en apparence
 Que tu es grand, devant m'apparaître
 Tellement que le dieu en soit
 En part de l'air que tu me proposes
 Que's le sang de la terre,
 De moi de la vie la terre,
 La vie de la vie la terre,
 Et non une autre que la terre.

Sc. I. p. 404.

Dem. Is all so clear, may it then prove prosperous?

This reading has been adopted in preference to that of the old copy, which was, *of all and yet*; and in support of it Mr. Mason has offered the following argument.

She cannot wish him more prosperous in enjoying the riddle than those who had prevented him; because his success would cause the publication of her own shame. Feeling a regard for the prince, she deprecates his fate, and wishes he may not succeed in solving the riddle; but that his father may be attended with prosperous consequences. Now she must have very well known that the future in question could be attended with no other consequences than the forfeiture of his life, a condition that had been just before expressly declared. Nor was such a wish on the part of the lady likely to operate as an inducement to the prince to try his chance. The words "may that" appear to have no regular antecedent. Would it not therefore be more charitable towards the lady to suppose that her mind revolved in the guilty situation she was placed in; and that a sudden affection for the prince, and a desire to be honourably united to such a man,

might take possession of her mind; and induce her so wish, according to a sense which may be constructed from the old reading, that, as so afflicted *And here uttered*, he might prove successful? It should be remembered too, that this idea corresponds exactly with the character of the princess in *Clower*. Should this interpretation be thought just, the present speech must be supposed to be privately addressed to the prince.

Sc. 1. p. 440.

Fra. ———— for wisdom men, themselves

Blush not in secret blinder than the night,

Will close no means to keep them from the light.

The old reading was *show* no crime, which is equivalent with *ask* no means, and the construction is, "they who blush not for bad actions will take no means to conceal them."

Sc. 2. p. 442.

Fra. Let none debate us—why the sleep of thought?

Both the old editions have *change*, which, as Mr. Mason has shown, may very well stand; and even the redundant word *should*, in the old copies, might be retained without diminishing the

harmony of the line. The sense would then be,
 "Let none disturb us: why should this change
 of sentence [disturb us]?"

—————

Sc. 4. p. 486.

Gen. If heaven should strike their children dead,
 They may receive their help to comfort them.

As these lines stand they are ungrammatical. The original reading was, no doubt, *if the Gods should*, which was altered by the licenser of the press. This should either be restored, or the whole rendered correct.

—————

ACT II.

Page 488.

Gen. ————— what shall be said,
 Forsooth old Gower, that keeps the seat.

Which Mr. Steevens thus explains: "Excuse old Gower from telling you what follows. The very text as it has proved of too considerable a length already." But has he not missed the meaning of this elliptical mode of expression, which seems to be,—*"Excuse old Gower from*

—

refusing what follows; this *belongs* to the text, *i. e.* the play itself, not to the commentators?" In the third act he uses a similar speech,

"I will relate, when my
Conscience the not occupy."

Longs should be printed '*longs*, as we have noted for *belonged* in *Michael*, Act III. Sc. 2.

Sc. 1. p. 450.

For ——— I yet am surprised
Of a pair of horns

These were a sort of petticoat that hung down to the knees, and were suggested by the Roman military dress, in which they seem to have been separate and parallel slips of cloth or leather. Gayton in his *Festivals* notes on *Don Quixote*, p. 215, says, that "all herosick persons are picro-mord' in hose and buskins." In the celebrated story of *Peer John and Peer Richard*, as related in Heywood's *History of women*, p. 155, the skirts of the armed filer's gown are made to serve as hose. At the joust that were held in honour of Queen Catharine in the second year of Hen. VIII., some of the knights had "their houses and trappers of cloth of gold, every of

them his name embroidered on his haire and
trippot." *Esdræ's Chronicle*. But here the term
seems applied to the furniture of the house. The
houses appear to have been made of various ma-
terials. If in rifting they fell to the ground, the
herds claimed them as a free, unless redeemed by
money; this indeed was the case with respect to
any piece of armour that happened to be detached
from the owner. Sometimes houses denoted the
house merely; as in the comedy of *Longus*, 1607,
where *Atalana*, one of the characters, is dressed
in "a cloak of silver mantle upon a pair of satin
haire." In *Rider's Latin dictionary*, 1606, houses
are rendered *peristilium curiam*. The term seems
to have been borrowed from the French, who at
a very early period used *haire* for a woman's
periwig. See *Carpenter's Glossar. words art.*

—————

So. S. p. 476.

THOMAS. And her device, a wreath of chastity
The word, *Me pompe present upon*

Pompe, and not *Pompei*, is undoubtedly the
true word; and the whole of Mr. Steevens's rea-
soning in favour of the latter is at once disposed
of by referring to the word which appears to have
furnished the author of the play with this and the

two subsequent devices of the knight. It is a scarce little volume entitled, *The hermit's device of M. Claudius Pericles son of Demetrius, whereunto are added the best Gabriel Symonds's and others. Translated out of Latin into English, by P. S.* 1591, 24mo. The work device, from its peculiar reference to the situation of Pericles, may perhaps have been altered from one in the same collection used by Diana of Poitiers. It is a green branch issuing from a tomb with the motto *VERA VIVIT IN FIDO*. The following are what have been immediately borrowed from Pericles; but it is also proper to state that the



north and the hand issuing from a cloud are to be found in Whitney's *Emblems*, 1595, etc. As they are all more elegantly engraved in the original editions of Paradin and Symeon than in the English book above mentioned, the copies here given have been made from the former.



ACT III.

SCENE 2. Page 456.

1. Goss. Or let me measure up in silken bags,
To please the *fool* and death.

The notes on this passage having got into some little confusion by the introduction of the lines in *Measure for measure* which relate to the *fool* and death and the supplemental remarks on it, it will be necessary in all future editions to keep them separate, as it seems almost certain that they have no connexion with each other.

Corinon in most express terms declares that he feels more real satisfaction in his liberal employment as a physician, than he should in the uncertain pursuit of honour, or in the mere accumulation of wealth; which would assimilate him to a miser, the result of whose labour is merely to entertain the *fool* and death. But how was such amusement as this to affect those personages in the other instance, where the vain attempts of a *fool* to escape the jaws of his adversary form the whole of the subject? The allusion therefore is to some such point as Mr. Stevens happily

remembered to have seen, in which death plunders the miser of his money bags, whilst the fool is gazing at the process. It may be presumed that these subjects were common in Shakspeare's time. They might have ornamented the poor man's cottage in the shape of rude prints, or have been introduced into halfpenny ballads long since consigned to oblivion. The miser is at all times his game; and to prove that this is not a chimerical opinion, and at the same time to show the extensive range of this popular subject, a few prints of the kind shall be mentioned. 1. Death and the two misers, by Michael Praeger. 2. An old couple counting their money, death and two devils attending, a miniature by Vander Bruggen. 3. A similar miniature by Hebreux without the devils. 4. An old print on a single sheet of a dance of death, on which both the miser and the fool are exhibited in the clutches of the grim monarch.

The rear may be closed with the same subject as represented in the various dances of death that still remain. Nor should it be concluded that because these prints exhibit no fool to gaze at the impending doom, others might not have done so. The satirical introduction of this character on many occasions supports the probability that they did. Thus in a painting of the school of Holbein,

an old man makes love to a girl, attended by a fool and death, to show, in the first instance, the futility of the thing, and in the next, its consequence. It is unnecessary to pursue the argument, as every point of the above kind that may in future occur, will itself speak much more forcibly than any thing which can here be added.

ACT IV.

Scene 2. Page 108.

The two last lines in the quotation from *The wife for a month* should be printed thus,

Hang up my picture in a better place,
And add me to the words.

Sc. 3. p. 109.

Malton, ——— to make his name in the act,

"There is here," says Mr. Malone, "perhaps, some allusion to the fair covered, though the words *French crosses* in their literal acceptation were certainly also in Bosc's thoughts." Mr. Malone notes no allusion whatever to the above disease. That a *French cross* did signify the

fact seems to cannot be doubted; but Mr. Mason's difference of opinion might be further supported by reflecting that if the Frenchman came to convert^{*} his money, he could not well be said to scatter it. It must therefore be inferred that he was to scatter nothing but his money. As Mr. Mason has not favoured us with an explanation of the coins in question, it is necessary to state that they were crowns of the sun, specifically so called, *coron de soleil*; and in this instance, for the sake of antithesis, termed crowns in the sun. They were of gold, originally coined by Louis XI. Their name was derived from the mint mark of a sun; and they were current in this kingdom by weight, in the same manner as certain English coins were in France.

Sc. 3. p. 541.

Heaven. — we should help them with this sign.

This sign is properly referred by Mr. Malone to the person of Moses, and cannot, for the reasons in the last note, allude to the sun, according

* It is necessary that the reader should review Mr. Mason's preceding and subsidiary note.

to Mr. Mason's second explanation. Nor is this gentleman's argument supported by the instance adduced of the sun having been used as the sign of a heathen. It was by no means exclusively, or even particularly so. The following passage from Dekker's *Pillars discovered*, or *the helmsman's night walk*, may throw some light on the subject before us. "He saw the doors of notorious courted houses (like hell gates) stand night and day wide open, with a pair of harlots in ruffia gowns (like two painted poems) gawling out those doors, being better to the house than a double sign."

—————

Eu. 6. p. 267.

Mrs. Thus'tis the door's door-keeper in every respect
That makes women knocking for her self.

Mr. Malone thinks *Tis* a contraction of *Tabitha*; but quare if not of *Isabel*? In all events it was a name given to any lewd woman. In *Pasquel's mad cappe*, 1606, &c., an excellent satire, occasion is made of a singer and his table. Why this name was exclusively applied to a lewd woman, or how it got into the game of *gleek*, does not appear.

 ACT V.

Scene II. Page 609.

PER. Here's no making stars of him!

So is I Henry *PL. Act I.*

"A far more glorious star thy soul will make
Than Julius Cæsar!"

This notion is borrowed from the ancients, who expressed their mode of conferring divine honours and immortality on men, by placing them among the stars. Thus on a medal of Hadrian the adopted son of Trajan and Pædia, the divinity of his parents is expressed by placing a star over their heads; and in like manner the consecrated medals of Faustina the elder exhibit her as an eagle, her head surrounded with stars. Other similar medals have the moon and sun; and some of Faustina the younger the inscription *HECÆBVS RECEPTA*.

 THE CLOWN.

Although Boak, the servant to the pander and his wife, is not termed a clown in the dra-

more person, it should seem that he has an equal claim to the appellation with several other low characters that have been introduced into plays for the purpose of amusing the audience. He bears some affinity to the rascal in *Miserey for measure*; but there is nothing that immediately connects him the jester in a brooch. See what has been said on such a character in the article relating to the clown in *Miserey for measure*.

ON THE STORY OF PERICLES.

As the very great popularity of this play in former times may be supposed to have originated rather from the interest which the story, replete with incident, must have excited, than from any intrinsic merit as a dramatic composition; it may be worth while, and even interesting to many, to give the subject more ample discussion. To trace it beyond the period in which the dramatic romance of *Apollonius Tyrius* was composed, would be a vain attempt. That was the probable original; but of its author nothing decisive has been discovered. The following circumstance,

however, has led to a conjecture concerning him, which shall be stated with as much brevity as possible. When Tania, the Maron of Pontus, has finished the song which she addresses to her unknown father Apollonius, she receives from him a hundred pieces of gold, with a command to leave him. Athenagoras, the Epimachus of Pericles, afterwards meets her, gives her two hundred pieces, and prevails on her to make another effort to seek the melancholy of Apollonius. She returns to him, requests permission to renew their conversation, and insists on his taking back his money, unless he can exposed certain riddles which she proceeds to state. Now these riddles, three in number, are to be found in a work entitled *Synopsis enigmata*. The original editor of this book, Pierre Pichon, thought fit, without the smallest authority, to entitle the supposed author *Celbas Firmianus Synpositus*. Heumann, a subsequent editor, placing implicit confidence in this name, maintained that this person could be no other than the celebrated father of the church *Celbas Firmianus Lactantius*; for having found that he had written a work, now lost, under the title of *Synpositus*, he concluded that the name of *Synpositus*, which occurs at the beginning of the enigma, was a mistake, and

that he had therefore proved his point. But this fallacious reasoning was easily subverted by the superior critical talents of the truly learned Fabricius, who demonstrated the impossibility of such an error, and that Hesman had even misconceived the meaning of the word *Symposium*, which could not apply to a work like the *enigmas*. Besides, the evidence of Saint Jerome remained to show that the *symposium* was not verses, like the *enigmas*, in hexameter verses. Lactantius is therefore out of the question; and though there is no immediate proof respecting the time in which *Symposium* lived, it appears that it must have been before the eighth century, as bishop Aldhelm, who died in 709, quotes the *enigmas* as composed by *Symposium* the poet. This, and many other circumstances, sufficiently identify him against the ill-founded assertions of Hesman, who regarded him as a non-exist. Aldhelm himself wrote *enigmas* so much in the manner of *Symposium*, that one might reasonably enough infer there was no great difference in their respective ages. The learned Boshius (see his *Algebra*, lib. iiii. c. 1.), fully persuaded of the reality of *Symposium*, and acquainted with the occurrence of the riddles in the history of *Apollonius Tyrius*, concluded, with other learned men,

that Synopseus wrote the latter; and he justly terms the author *stultus scriptor et eruditus*, as will be evident to any one who will take the trouble of reading it in Veker's edition, which is printed from a better manuscript than those used in the *Græca Romanorum*. If, as Veker maintains, and Barthius admits, it was originally written in Greek, a difficulty arises with respect to Synopseus, unless he be regarded as the translator. But, to say the truth, there does not appear to be any solid reason for supposing him the author, or even translator. It is not very probable that in either character he would have introduced his own matter from another work; and therefore, until some more fortunate discovery shall occur, the romance of Apollonius Tyrius must remain *scriptura*.

With respect to the language in which it was composed, Veker was of opinion, from certain Græco-Latin words which it contains, that this was Greek; and he speaks, rather obscurely, of a manuscript of it in that language at Constantinople. He seems to think that the translator was a Christian, living about the period of the decline of the Roman empire. Barthius conceived him to have been a monk of the sixth century. The *Serbo* translation mentioned in Wansley's list of

manuscript, and now in Bennett College Cambridge, is doubtless from the Latin, and is alone a sufficient testimony of the antiquity of the work. At what time it was made must be left to the decision of those who are critically skilled in the Saxon language. One Constantine is said to have translated it into modern Greek verse about the year 1400; and this is probably the manuscript mentioned in DuRoi's index of authors, and afterwards printed at Venice in 1764. Mr. Tyrwhitt has observed that Valart was not aware of its having been already published in the *Gœta Romanorum*; and it may be added that it had been printed separately at Augsburg in 1671, perhaps as early as in the *Gœta Romanorum*; a fact that cannot well be ascertained, because there are editions of the latter without date which might have been printed before. Mr. Warton has committed a slight mistake in supposing that Adamantius Rhinoceros made a Latin translation corrected by Bernackus about the year 1580*. Vossius, whom he had misquoted, was speaking of a translation of Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius Tyaneus*. What Mr. Malone has said of the English translations precludes the necessity of

* Hist. of Engl. poetry, III. 416.

any further notice of them; but with respect to that gentleman's supposition, that there might have been an early prose translation from the *Genia Romanorum*, in which the name of *Apollonius* was changed to *Pericles*, it becomes necessary to state that there are very good reasons for concluding that the story of *Apollonius Tyrius*, from the *Genia Romanorum*, never was translated into English; and even that the *Genia Romanorum* in question did not appear in our language till the beginning of the eighteenth century, and then but a small portion of it*. The name of *Pericles* has been very well accounted for by Mr. Savaria.

To render this article as complete as possible, and to facilitate the reference to a story once so celebrated, a list of the various manuscripts and printed copies is subjoined.

MANUSCRIPTS.

Those in Latin are, two in Bodleian Coll. Cambridge; see Nisemb's *Catal. Nov. concordiæ* apud.—Two in the Bodleian lib. Nov. 2455, 2540, see *Catal. MSS. Anglæ*, pp. 145, 155. Mr. Watson mentions a third, in *H. E. Protop.*

* See the subsequent Dissertation on the *Genia Romanorum*.

vol. I. p. 160, note h. A fourth is in the same library among Archb. Laud's MSS. No. 1404, *Catal. MSS. Anglæ*, p. 70; on what authority this is said to have been translated from the Greek, remains to be examined.

In Magdal. Coll. Ox. No. 2094, *Catal. MSS. Anglæ*, p. 72.—In Voynas's collection, No. 2423, *Catal. MSS. Anglæ*, p. 84.—In the Norfolk collection, now in the library of the Royal Society, No. 8181, *Catal. MSS. Anglæ*, p. 80.—Two in the Bodleian library; see *Ascham's Catal.* p. 224.—Two in the Vatican. See *Montfaucon Bibl. palæstinensis*, I. 50, Nos. 273, 274.—In the Medicean library, *Montfaucon Bibl. Ital.* I. 272, No. 21.—In the royal library at Paris; *Montfaucon Bibl. Ital.* II. 763, No. 2221.

A *Latin* translation. Bennett Coll. Camb. See Nares's *Catal.* No. cxi. and Worsley, *Libert. vett. septentrional. catal.* apud Hickesij *Thesaur.* p. 146.

A *French* translation is among the royal MSS. in the British museum, 22 c. II. 'evidently made from the Latin about the 14th century.

A fragment in old English verse, probably by Thomas Vicary of Winchester minister in Dorsetshire, on the story of *Apollonius Tyrius*, was in the possession of the late reverend and learned

Dr. Farmer of Cambridge. See it noticed in the present vol. of Mr. Sturtevant's *Shakespeare*, pp. 284, 602.

PRINTED EDITIONS.

Apollonius Tyri Historia, no date, but before 1500, 8vo.

The same published by Valart, 1594, 4to.

In modern Greek verse. Venice 1563, 1600, 1698, 8vo.

In Italian rima. Venice 1486, and without place 1489, 4to.

In Italian prose, reformed; and published for the benefit of the common people, *per piacere del popolo*, Milan 1602, 4to.

In Spanish, in the *Parvasas* of Juan Timoneda, Alcalá 1576, and Belvas 1680, 8vo. This translation may be presumed to have been made from the *Greek Romanorum*, as other notices from it are in the same work.

In German, Augsburg 1471, folio, and 1476, 4to.

In Dutch, Delft, 1609, 4to.

In French, b. l. Geneva, 6to. n. d. Again, transd. by Gilles Corrozet, Paris 1560, 8vo. Again, Anst. 1710, Paris 1711, 18mo, underrived by M. Le Brun. It is abridged in *Mo-*

Jeux et ruses d'une grande bibliothèque, vol. latin. p. 262. It is also among the *Man. antiquæ de Belleforest*, tom. vii. 1604, 12mo.

In English, transl. by Rob. Copland from the French, and printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1494.

The pattern of painful adventures *&c.* also bygd unto Prince ARONOTUS, *&c.* translated by T. Twine, 1607. Originally published by W. Blount, 1574.

In Gower's *Confessio amantis*, 1465, 1532, and 1534, folio, from Godfrey of Viterbo.

In the *Pomposus et universalis chronicle* of Godfrey of Viterbo, compiled in Latin in the 14th century. First printed in Basil, 1509, folio, and afterwards in Poterius's collection of German histories.

And lastly, in most of the editions of the *Græcæ Rammentum*, in which it makes the 150d chapter. In comparing this with Volser's work, it will be perceived that it is the same, making allowance for the usual difference of manuscripts. In short, there is but one story.

A few years after the publication of this play, there appeared on the French stage a tragi-comedy on the same story, entitled *Les Amours inférieures*. It is in two parts, each of five acts, and

composed by François Bernier de la Breuille. It might be worth while to examine whether he had made any use of the English Pericles.

However unworthy of Shakspeare's pen this drama, as an entire composition, may be considered, many will be of opinion that it contains more that *he* might have written than either *Love's Labour's Lost*, or *All's well that ends well*.



KING LEAR.

ACT I.

Scene 1. Page 14.

OSW. ——— I am sure, my love:
More rather than my tongue.

Dr. WASHINGTON would turn it *their tongues*, meaning *her sisters*, which would be very good sense. Dr. Johnson is content with the present reading, but gives no explanation. Cordelia means to say, "My love is greater than any powers of language can express." In like manner she soon afterwards says, "I cannot leave my heart into my words."

Sc. 1. p. 14.

LEAR. Nothing can come of nothing.

In the fourth scene of this act, Lear uses the same expression in answer to the Fool, who had asked him if he could "make no use of nothing." For this ancient saying of one of the philosophers,

Shakespeare might have been indebted to the following passage in *The progress of wisdom*, by E. D. 1302, 412. "The prophane antiquitie therefore, unknown by counsell mentes, extracted little herof, as of that which by their rule, that nihil er. nihil fit, considered not matter of profit or commendation: for which these philosophers blamed, as unskillfull men for dominion and empire."

Sc. 4. p. 60.

Fern. That such a king should play to-prop.

Mr. Strevens remarks that little more of this game than its most denotational remains. He had forgotten the amusements of his nursery. In *Sherrwood's Dictionary* it is defined, "Jeu d'enfant; ou (pluſtôt) des nouvelles aux petits enfans; se meſure le village et puis se meſurent." The Italians say *far loro loro*, or *dare dare*, and *havecare*; which shows that there must at some time or other have been a connexion between the name's *corruſionementum*, the *luggie* or *luggie do*, and the present expression. See the note in vol. I. p. 248. Minerva's derivation of *to-prop* from the noise which children make when they come out of the shell, is more whimsical than just.

SC. 4. p. 63.

LEAR. Lear : *studies* ?

We are told that "the *folie* has given these words to the *fool*." And so they certainly should be, without the mark of interrogation. They are of no use whatever in Lear's speech; and without this arrangement, the fool's next words, "which they will make an *abedient* father," are unintelligible. It will likewise dispose of Mr. Steevens's subsequent charge against Shakspeare, of intention to the rules of grammar.

ACT II.

SCENE 2. Page 64.

KENT. I'll make a *rap* of the *murder* of you.

It is certain that an equivocal is here intended by an allusion to the old dish of eggs à la coque, which was eggs broken and boiled in salad oil till the yolks became hard. They were eaten with slices of onion fried in oil, butter, vinegar, nutmeg and salt.

SC. 2. p. 100.

Enter FINE, *under pretence* &c.

Rightly explained above. Groom, in his admirable notice, *At a gap for an apter notice*, speaking of the tricks played by the henchmen in his time, makes use of his characters exclaiming, "I pray you, gentlemen Kitchin, have you not your artificial knowings to set out your meats with pride?" The henchmen and butlers come in also for their share of abuse.

SC. 2. p. 102.

Enter TWO TORLUGGS!

Warburton would read *Turkies*, and Flankey *Turkies*; but there is a better reason for rejecting both these words than for preferring either; viz. that *Turlygod* is the corrupted word in our language. The *Torlugins* were a financial crew that over-ran France, Italy, and Germany, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They were at first known by the names of *Boylards* or *Boylins*, and brothers and sisters of the free spirit. Their manner and appearance exhibited

the strongest indications of lunacy and derangement. The common people alone called them *Tarshpins*; a name, which, though it has excited much doubt and controversy, seems obviously to be connected with the wretched condition which these people in all probability would take when influenced by their religious feelings. Their subsequent appellation of the *fraternity of poor men* might have been the cause why the wandering rogues called *Bedlam beggars*, and one of whom Edgar personates, assumed or obtained the title of *Tarshpin* or *Tarshpinole*, especially if their mode of making alms was accompanied by the gesticulations of madness. *Tarshpin* and *Tarshpinole* are old Italian terms for a fool or madman; and the Flemings had a proverb, *As unfortunate as Tarshpin and his children*.

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Sc. 4. p. 113.

LEAR. To do upon rogues such violent outrage.

Explained by Dr. Johnson, "to violate the character of a messenger from the king." It is rather "to do outrage to that aspect which is due to the king." This, in part, agrees with the preceding note.

SC. 4. J. 114.

Kent. They cannot't up their way.

Mony, signifying a family, household, or revenue of revenues, is certainly from the French *maison*, or, as it was anciently and more properly written, *maison*; which word has been regarded, with great probability, by a celebrated French glossarist and antiquary, as equivalent with *maison* or *maisonie*, from *maison*. In modern French *maison*. See glossary to Volhardouin, edit. 1687, folio.

Mr. Hall White has cited Dryden's line,

"The many need the state with least supplies,"

as supplying the use of *many* in Kent's sense of *trade* or *revenue*. With great deference, the word is quite unconnected with *many*, and simply denotes any multitude or collection of people. It is not only used at present in its common adjective form for *several*, *severe*, *mult*, but even substantively: for in the Northern parts of England they will say a *many*, and a *many* people, i. e. of people. In this sense it is never found in the French language; but we have received it directly, as an adjective, from the Saxon *man*

manus, and as a substantive, from *manus*, *manus*, *manus*, *manus*, &c. &c.; for in that language the word is found without not less than twenty different ways. It is the same as the Latin *manus*; Horace uses *manus pascuorum*; and Quintilian of *manus ingenuorum*. It does not appear that the Saxons used *manu* for a family or household.

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Sc. 4. p. 122.

Fast. Cry not much, as the outcry did to the wife.

The difficulties that have attended all inquiries concerning this term, have been not a little augmented by an expectation of finding an uniformity which it does not possess, and by not reflecting that it is in reality susceptible of very different explanations.

There is hardly a doubt that it originates in an Utopian region of indolence and luxury, formerly denominated the country of *eccequis**, which,

* This country has been humorously described by an old French writer, from whose work an extract may be found in M^{rs} Laprade's interesting collection of *Alfances*, tom. i. p. 121, and which settles Mr. Tyrwhitt's conjecture, that the old English poem first published by Holman, G. A. Son p. 121, was a translation from the French. See *Contes*, vol. iv. p. 124.

as some have thought, was infinitely connected with the art of cookery; whilst others, with equal plausibility, relate that the *lande* pellets of wood, a commodity in which Langensloe was remarkably fertile, being called by the above name, the province itself acquired the appellation of the kingdom of coenige or of plenty, where the inhabitants lived in the utmost happiness, and were exempt from every sort of care and anxiety. Hence the name came to be applied to any rich country. Boileau calls Paris *un pays de coenige*. The French have likewise some chivalrous places under this title. The Italians have many allusions to it; and there is said to be a small district between Rome and Loretto so called from its cheaps and fertility. With us the lives cited by Camden in his *Britannia*, vol. I. col. 428,

" Were I as my uncle of Burgoy
Upon the crest of Warrney
I would as soon be the King of Cookery,"

whenever they come, indicate that London was formerly known by this satirical name; and denote a *Landener* came to be called a *cook*. The French have an equivalent word, *coquiner*, to pump, cheat, or dandle, whence our *cocker*.

From the above circumstances it is probable that a *cookery* became at length a term of con-

tempt; one of the earliest proofs of which is Chaucer's use of it in the *Reeve's Tale*, v. 4000: "I shall be taken a dulle or a colowey." In the *Prognosticon parvolorum*, 1510, etc., it is explained to be a term of derision. In Shakespeare's time it signified a child tenderly brought up, a darling, a waif. See Barrett's *Dictionary* and a little before it had been used in a bad sense, from an obvious corruption. See Haller's *Observations*, 1582, folio. In this place too Mr. Tyrwhitt's quotations from Marston and Decker might be introduced.

The next sense in which colowey was used seems to be conveyed in the line cited by Mr. Tyrwhitt from *Pierre Planchart's Fables*:

"And yet I say by my word I have no colowey,
No no colowey by Chaucer colowey to make!"

as well as in those from the tournament of Totenham;

"As that four were they served in colowey,
Every one and five had a colowey."

where in both instances, with deference to the respectable authorities of Dr. Percy and Mr. Tyrwhitt, it signifies a hawk cock. In the latter quotation it might mean a peacock, a favourite dish among our ancestors, and this conjecture is

countenanced by the words *eyerd* in rich array. This mode of forming a derivative with respect to animals is not infrequent. Thus in the *Century* tale, l. 2267 : "She was a pimevole, a pypere." And here again some apology may be necessary for differing from Mr. Tyrwhitt, who supposes that *Chaucer* "meant no more than *oculus*, the eyes of that animal being remarkably small, and the Romans using *oculus* as a term of endearment." But the objection to this ingenious explanation is, that we cannot well be put for *eye* ; that in this case the word would have been *pyeye*, and that it is rather formed from the A. S. *pyga*, a girl. See Lye's *Saxo. dict.* Similar words were afterwards constructed, but without due regard to the above etymology. For example, "Pyche sweet *birdseye*, be content." *Derwent's City night cap*, Act iii. Sc. 1.—"Jolla, why frowst thou? my sweet *birdseye*!" *Daniel's Scourge of Jolly*—"Ay *birdseye*, she's a quene." *Shadwell's Flirtation*, Act iii.—And in *Congreve's Old bachelor*, Fendlesiffe calls his mate *cockey*.

It is observable that in all the above instances these appellations are only used to females. It is not improbable therefore, that, in an oblique sense, *cockey* might sometimes be used in speak-

ing to make children as a term of endearment, and it may be necessary to make this remark here, for the purpose of anticipating any suggestion that it is connected with the present subject.

It remains only to notice the *coquelice* or *sugar pills* which Mr. Strevens's old lady remembered to have eaten in her childhood. The French formerly used a kind of perfumed pastry made of the powdered iris flower, sugar, rose, and rose-water; these were called *jauchées*, and from the dissimile of the word to *jest*, or the *Langue-dox* word mentioned at the beginning of this note as the produce of the *pays de coquelice*, it is not improbable that some latent affinity may exist. The animal involved in the English term might indeed be thought sufficient to indicate the form, Had the old lady, happily for us, described the shape of these confections, and which notions of delicacy might have presented, we could possibly have traced them from our Gallic neighbours in another descent of a very singular nature. The following extract from *Leprieux's Vie privée des Français*, tom. II. p. 224, will explain this:—"C'est-à-en qu'il a existé en France un temps où l'on a donné aux menus plaisirs de table les formes les plus obscures, et les noms les plus infâmes? Crois-tu que cet incroyable excès de

deprivation a dure plus de deux siècles! Avant tout ce même les noms de ces piteuses qu'il faut blâmer que les forces qu'on leur donnait. Châmpier, après avoir décrit les différents piteuses nommés de son temps, dit, *Quant piteuse malheureux, elle n'est (et elle piteuse) représentée. Sont que* *malheureux appelé ainsi. Adieu de piteusement sous leurs, et ainsi Christianisme et piteuse et piteuse in cibus piteux.*"

Blancher's tale of the cock singing, and Caubus's derivation of cockney from *mayney*, i. e. *domi catus*, may serve to increase those smiles of compassion which it is to be feared some of the present remarks may have already excited.

It is worth remarking, although not immediately connected with the present subject, that in the Celtic languages *coeg*, and *col*, signified any thing foolish or good for nothing. They were connected with the radical word for a cuckoo, a silly bird, which has thus transmitted its appellation to persons of a similar nature. See the words *coeg* in the Welsh dictionary, and *col* in Pryor's Cornish vocabulary. In the North they call the cuckoo a *gowk*, whence *gowk*, foolish, and *gowly*. Our term *colin*, for a fool, is of the same family, and, perhaps, related.

Sc. 4. p. 152.

Lear. Thus art a fool.

The note on this word states that it was written *fole* in the old copies, which all the modern editors have too strictly followed; that the mistake arose from the word *fole* being often pronounced as if written *fole*; and that in the folio we find in *Christians* the same *fole* spelling as here.—But this charge against the editors seems to have originated in a misconception. The ancient and true orthography is *fole* and *fole*, and such was the common pronunciation. The modern *foyl* and *foel* are corruptions. Thus in the *Proper-tarian* *paradise*, 1545, we have "*fole* now,—*Paradise*." In *Maslow's bible*, 1551, "*Satan* unite *fole* with *marvelous* some *fole*." In *Whitstone's Mirror for magistrates of cy-ties*, 1564, 400, "*Dying* houses are of the substance of other buildings, but within are the houses and *foles* of abominacion." *Fole* is part *foel*, and is so given in most of the old dictionaries.

Sc. 4. p. 153.

Lear. ———— but this heart

Still beats, like a trained thousand fowls.

On the word *fowls* we have the following note:

"A *flaw*, signifying a crack or other similar imperfection; our author, with his accustomed licence, uses the word here for a small broken joint. So again in the fifth act,

"..... but his *flaw'd* heart
Tears wisely."

Now there is some reason for supposing that *flaw* might signify a *fragment* in Shakspeare's time, as well as a mere crack; because among the Saxons it certainly had that meaning, as may be seen in Somner's *Diction. Saxon. voce* *glof*. It is to be observed that the quonoes read *flawes*, approaching nearer to the original. In the above quotation *flaw'd* seems to be used in the modern sense.

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ACT III.

Scene 2. Page 147.

FOOL. Many, here's grass, and a colt-pate; that's a way
and a colt-pate!

Shakspeare has with some humour applied the above name to the fool, who, for obvious reasons, was usually provided with this unwelcome part of dress in a more remarkable manner than other persons. To the custom Gayton thus alludes, when

speaking of the decline of the stage: "No fooler with *Harry* conjunct appears." *Proterus* notes upon *Don Quixote*, p. 270.

Sc. 2. p. 182.

Proter. No leeches could but render us wiser.

Dr. Johnson has very well explained why wicker baskets were burned; but Mr. Stevens's quotation from Isaiah li. 24, "—and burning instead of beauty," has not been applied on this occasion with his usual discernment. Not to mention the improbability that the burning in question should have existed in the days of Isaiah, the expression itself is involved in the deepest obscurity. Saint Jerome has entirely missed it; and if the Hebrew word which in some translations has been rendered *obscure*, be susceptible of any like meaning, it is that of *abridged* or *stripped up by heat*. It is, therefore, in the bishops' bible and some foreign translations paraphrastically given, "and for their beauty witheredness and more burning." The manuscript regulations for the monks in Southwark, printed but abridged in *Stowe's Annals*, would have furnished the learned commentator with a far more apposite illustration.

In these it is said, "no earholder shall keep any woman that hath the perilous infirmity of ear-aching."

See, *ib.* p. 100.

See. Followed on in followed + full.

In the medical romance of *St. Gerasius and St. Galenus*, there is this line,

"His pellicones with pellicones were pecked to pay."

Pictorial's Scotch poems, vol. vi. 314.

In the comedy of *Ignoramus* by Ruggles, Act ii. Sc. 6, Cogen talks of "quintillions, indigestions, pellicones, callimachus;" where it is perhaps a new-dangled term for any kind of stuff or cloth. There is an attempt to explain the word in Warner's *Letter to Garrick*, p. 30; but whoever would be certain of finding the exact meaning, may consult, besides the article in *Minerva*, 1820, the following books—Darby's *Pills to purge melancholy*, 1611—The *Nightingale*, (a collection of songs) 1720, p. 260—Lynchop's *Florio*, as edited by Mr. Chambers, B. 144, and the excellent glossary—Florio's *Italian dictionary*, 1611, under the articles *periole*, and *recessa*.

Sc. 4. p. 162.

Ede. Keep thy son from London looks.

When spendthrifts and dissipated persons resorted to usurers or imbeciles for the purpose of raising money by means of shop-goods or broken paper commodities, they usually entered their promissory notes or other similar obligations as books kept for that purpose. It is to this practice that Edgar alludes.

In Lodge's *Looking-glass for London and England*, 1596, 4to, a usurer says to a gentleman, "I have thy hand set to my book, that thou receivest a hundred pounds of me in money." To which the other answers, "It was your desire, to colour thy statute, but your conscience knows it what I had." Parbo, in his *Christmas-dinner of the world*, speaking of a country gentleman, alludes to the extravagance of his back, which had got him into the usurer's toils.

Sc. 4. p. 163.

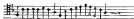
Ede. — he, no song.

This was the burden of many old songs. One of these, being connected with Mr. Healey's story, II.

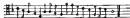
draw note, is here presented to the reader. It is taken from a scarce collection, entitled *Musical Miscellany, Giving the names, notes and country humours, To 1, 4, and 5 voices, 1611*, &c. In Playford's *Musical companion*, p. 55, the words are set to a different tune.



It shall sell us *Attorneys* large good *three shillings* in *stony*,



a *Chamber* and a *franklin* *Red*, a *Chantry* and a *boy* *woop* *woop*



woop *woop* *woop*, *woop* *woop* *wo*, *woop* *woop* *wo*, *woop* *woop* *wo*

— — — — —

Sec. 4. p. 164.

Learn. — *unaccommodated man* is no more but such a
poor, bare, forked animal as thou art.

Forked is a very strange epithet, but must be taken literally. See a note by Mr. Steevens in Act iv. Sc. 6, of this play. The *Cleaves* in their

written language represent a man by the following character.



Sc. 4. p. 176.

Frost. He's mad that trusts in the tumour of a wolf, a
horse's tooth, a boy's love, or a whore's oath.

Though *tooth* will certainly do, it has probably been substituted for *tooth*, by some person who regarded it as an improved reading. There are several precedents of this kind. That is the text has not been found elsewhere, and may be the invention of Shakespeare. The Italian says, *Of a woman beware before, of a male beware behind, and of a monk beware on all sides*; the French, *Beware of a bull's front, of a monk's hinder part, and of all sides of a woman*. In Samuel Rowland's excellent and amusing work, entitled *The choice of change, containing the trifolity of devinrie, philosophy, and poetrie*, 1555, 4to, we meet with this proverbial saying, "Trust not a chenger, dogs tooth, hores foot, womans protestation."

—

Sc. 6. A. 184.

Enter Poor Tom, *dry down a dry.*

On this speech Dr. Johnson has remarked that men who begged under pretence of lameness, used formerly to carry a horn and blow it through the streets. To account for Edgar's horn being dry, we must likewise suppose that the lamia in question made use of this vessel to drink out of, which seems preferable to the opinion of Mr. Steevens, that these words are "a proverbial expression, introduced when a man has nothing further to offer, when he has said all he has to say," the learned commentator not having adduced any example of its use. An opportunity here presents itself of suggesting a more correct mode of exhibiting the theatrical dress of Poor Tom than we usually see, on the authority of Randle Holme in his most curious and useful work *The academy of armory*, book III. ch. vi. p. 161, where he says that the *Bedlam* has "a long staff and a cow or ox-horn by his side; his dressing fantastic and ridiculous; for being a madman, he is usually drenched and dressed all over with robes, feathers, cuttings of cloth, and what not, to make him seem a madman or one

distracted, when he is no other than a dissembling knave." It is told that about the year 1760 a poor idiot called Cate Fiddly, went about the streets of Hawick in Scotland, habited much in the above manner, and rattling a cow's horn against his teeth. Something like this costume may be seen in the portrait of that precious knave *Mist'el Back*, who carries a drinking horn on his staff. See *Cruikshank's Portraits, manners, and characters of remarkable persons*, vol. II.

ACT IV.

Scene 3. Page 303.

*All. Humanity must perform prey on itself.
Like muttons of the deep.*

"Fishes," says Dr. Johnson, "are the only animals that are known to prey upon their own species." But Shakespeare did not mean to illustrate this; for he has elsewhere spoken of "creepers that each other eat." He only wanted a comparison. Many of the insect tribes prey on their own species, as spiders, scorpions, beetles, earwigs, &c., &c.

Sc. 4. p. 313.

LEAR. That fellow haggles his brow like a cross beggar.

The notes on this passage serve only to identify the character of a cross-begger; but the comparison still remains to be explained. On this occasion, we must consult our sole preceptor in the study and too much neglected science of archery, the venerable Ascham. In speaking of awkward shooters he says, "*Another crouch downe and layeth out his bowstrokes, as though hee should shoot at crows.*"

Sc. 4. p. 314.

LEAR. O well-downed bird!

The notes are at variance as to whether Lear allude to archery or falconry. Certainly to the latter. In an old song on breaking up for four voices by Thomas Ravenscroft, *O well flown*, is a frequent address to the hawk.

Sc. 4. p. 323.

LEAR. Hark, as these our cheap places; and hardly-
dandy, which is the justice, which is the thief?

Mr. Malone's explanation of this children's

speech is confirmed by the following extract from *A free discourse touching the usurpation of the crown*, MS. "They should take your childrens patrimony, and play with your sceptre as men play with little children at dandye dandye, which should well you know, when they are disposed to keep any things from them." The above discourse is a very bold and libellous address to King James I. on his pacific character, written, anonymously, with great powers of composition.

Sc. 4. p. 260.

LEAR. There thou wilt of behold the great image of
 authority; a dog's head in a lion's skin.
 Thou wast heathen, hold thy bloody hand!
 Why dost thou look thus?—Keep thy own face,
 look;
 Thou better had'st to see her in this kind,
 For which thou whor'st her. The summer suns
 the summer;
 Through which her'd fishes would swim; yet appear'd
 Fishes and fowl did grow like all.

This admirable speech has a remarkable coincidence with the following passage from "Parker's *Curious-dresser of the world*," 1613, 4to, p. 16, a work of very considerable merit. "The potency and power of magnificence and greatness

dark looks stare openly in the face in the very market place, and the eye of authority never takes notice thereof: the poor harlot must be strip'd and whipt for the crime that the courtly warden and the close-dancer tells out, and gains over and glory in, and account an railing. The poor thief is hang'd many times that hath stolen but the price of a dinner, when sometimes hee that robbes both church and commonwealth is none to ride on his horse-cloth." If this book was written according to its date, and Mr. Wilson be right as to that of *Lear*, a fact which is not worth to be controverted, the merit of originality will rest with Shakespeare.

—————

So. 4. p. 281.

Ex. Q. matter and imperiour matter.

This word was not used in its modern and corrupted sense of sentence or instruction, but merely to express something not belonging to the subject. Thus, an old collection of domestic recipes has entitled, *The treasure of commendable concrets*, 1594, is said to be "not imperiour for every good housewife to use in her house amongst her own familie." It does not seem to have been used in the sense of rule or reason-

early till the middle of the seventeenth century ; nor is that of *every* till a considerable time afterwards.

Sc. 4. p. 381.

LEAR. we come crying brother.

Then there's, the first time that we smell the air,
We weep and cry

Evidently taken from Flory as translated by Phileas Holland. "Man alone, poor wretch [nature] hath hid all naked upon the bare earth, even on his birth day to cry and weep presently from the very first hours that he is borne into this world." *Praeae* to book 7.

THE FOOL.

THE fool in this play is the genuine domestic buffoon ; but notwithstanding his occasional flashes of wit, for which we must give the poet credit, and ascribe them in some degree to what is called stage effect, he is a more natural with a considerable share of cunning. Thus Edgar calls him an *innocent*, and every one will immediately

distinguish him from such a character as Touchstone. His dress on the stage should be particularly noted; his hood crested either with a cock's comb to which he often alludes, or with the cock's head and neck. His bauble should have a head like his own with a grinning countenance, for the purpose of exciting mirth in those to whom he occasionally presents it.

The kindness which Lear manifests towards his fool, and the latter's extreme familiarity with his master in the midst of the most poignant grief and affliction, may excite surprise in those who are not intimately acquainted with the simple manners of our forefathers. An almost contemporary writer has preserved to us a curious anecdote of William Duke of Normandy, afterwards William I. of England, whose life was saved by the attachment and address of his fool. An ancient Flemish chronicle among the royal MSS. in the British Museum, 16, F. 33, commences with the exile of Salmond lord of Roussillon and his family from Burgundy. In passing through a forest, they are attacked by a cruel giant, who kills Salmond and several of his people; his wife Emerygand and a few others only escaping. This scene the illuminator of the manuscript, which is of the fifteenth century, has chosen to exhibit.

He has represented King Lear as driven away in a covered cart or waggon by one of the servants. She is attended by a female, and in the front of the cart is placed her fool, with a countenance expressive of the utmost alarm at the impending danger. Nor would it be difficult to adduce, if necessary, similar instances of the reciprocal affliction between these singular personages and those who retained them.

ON THE STORY OF THIS PLAY.

To the account already given of the materials which Shakspeare used, nothing perhaps of any moment can be added; but for the sake of rendering this article more complete, it may be worth while to add that the republished *Latin Græcæ Romanorum* contains the history of Lear and his daughters under different names, and with some little variety of circumstance. As it is not Indian, and has never been printed, at least so far as we know at present, it is here subjoined in its English form. The manuscript used on this occasion is No. 7833, in the Harleian collection.

"Theodosius reigned, a wys emperor in the cite of Rome and myght he was of power; the whiche emperor had thre daughters. So hit liked to this emperor to knowe which of his daughters loved him best. And the he said to the eldest daughter, how muche lovest thou me? Ikaroth, quod she, more than I do myself, therefore, quod he, thou shalt be hily rewarded, and married her to a riche and myghty kyng. Tho he cam to the second, and said to her, daughter, how muche lovest thou me? As muche Ikaroth, she said, as I do myself. So the emperor married her to a duc. And the he said to the third daughter, how muche lovest thou me? Ikaroth, quod she, as muche as ye both worke, and no more. Tho said the emperor, daughter, with thou lovest me no more, thou shalt not be married so richely as thy sisters both. And the he married her to an erle. After this it happid that the emperor held hestale against the king of Egypt. And the kyng drove the emperor oute of the empire, as so muche that the emperor had no place to shide yane. So he wrote letters censed with his wyng to his first daughter that said that she loved him more than herself, for to pray her of ensouyng in that grete neede, because he was put oute of his empire. And when the daughter

had red this letter, she told hit to the kyng her husband. The, quod the kyng, it is good that we rescue him in this neede. I shal, quod he, gader an host and help him in all that I can or may, and that will not be do withoute grete courage. Yee, quod she, his wote sufficient if that we wold graunt him V knyghts to be in fellowship w' him while he is oute of his empire. And so hit was ydo indeede. And the daughter wote open to the fader, that other help myght be not have but V knyghts of the kyng to be in his fellowship at the cost of the kyng her husband. And when the emperor herd this, he was hevy in his hert, and wold, shal she? all my trust was in her, for she wol she lovde me more than herself, and therefore I sentenced her so byn.

* Then he wote to the seconds that wold she lovde him as muche as herself, and when she had herd his letter, she shewd his entel to his husband, and yaf him in counsel that he shold fynde him more and drink and clothing honestly, as for the state of such a kinde during tyme of his neede. And when this was graunted, she wrote letters agyn to his fadir. The emperor was hevy w' that answer, and wold, whi my two daughters have thus yfayrd me, wothely I shal

prove the third. And so he wrote to the child that said she loved him as much as he was worth, and prised her off scour in his neck, and told her the stature of her two sisters. So the third daughter when she had considered the mystery of her father, she told her husband in this manner: my worshipfull lord do scoure me now in this grette neck, my father is put out of his empire and his heritags. Then speaks he, what woe did will I did thereto. That ye gader a grette one, quod she, and helpe him to fight agens his enemy. I shal fulfill th' will, wile the erie, and gaderd a grette one and yule with the empereour at his owne cottage to the battelle, and had the victorye, and set the empereour open in his heritags. And then said the empereour, blessed be the hour I gave my yongest daughter: I loved her less than eill of the erie, and now in my neck she hath scoured me, and the other have yllid me; and therefore wile my death she shal have myn empire. And so he was yde in dede; for wile the death of the empereour, the yongest daughter reigned in his sted and ended possibily."

The same story is to be found in the formerly celebrated English chronicle erroneously supposed to have been written by Caxton, the early

part of which was copied from Geoffrey of Monmouth. The circumstance of its having been printed by Caxton more than once, with a continuation to his own time, probably by himself, seems to have occasioned the mistake. See what has been said of it before, in vol. i. p. 432, 434.



ROMEO AND JULIET.

ACT I.

Scene I. Page 117.

Bene. Gregory, if my word, we'll not carry coals.

Greg. No, for then we should be colliers.

Of the various conjectures on the origin and real meaning of this phrase, that by Mr. Steevens seems deserving of the preference. In a rare little pamphlet, entitled, *The cold years*, 1674, 4to, being a dialogue in which the circumstances that happened in the great fall of snow are commemorated, one of the interlocutors, a North-country man, relates that on his approach to London he overtook a collier and his team, "walking as slowly as if they meant to carry coals." It was therefore a term of reproach to be called a collier, and thence, to carry coals was metaphorically used for any low or servile action. Barnaby Rudge, in his *Nine years' gift to the Pope's jubilee*, 1779, 4to, says he "had rather be a collier at Cologne than a Pope at Rome."

A hint had been given, by a gentleman whose opinions are on all occasions entitled to the highest respect and attention, that the phrase in question might have originated from *Proverbs*, xiii. 24. "If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink; for thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head." But this is a metaphor expressive of the pain which a man shall suffer from the reproaches of his conscience, and as such, has been adopted into our language. Thus, in *Notes from the North*, otherwise called *The conference between Simon Certain and Parrot Plowman*, 1878, 400, "Now God forbid that ever a lawyer should heap coals upon a merchant's head, or that a merchant should not be as willing and as ready to do a goodly deed as a lawyer."

Ec. 3. v. p. 343.

Can, such matters, with busy young men, be
When well-appointed & April on the land
Of busy water trade.

Two of the commentators would read *busy* *poemen*, and make the passage refer to the season of the farmer on the return of spring. One of them, Dr. Johnson, to render the present text objectionable, has been obliged to insert the

comparison. Capulet, in speaking of the delight² which Paris is to receive in the society of the young ladies invited to his house, compares it to that which the month of April usually afforded to the youth of both sexes, when assembled in the green fields to enjoy their accustomed recreations. Independently of the frequent allusions in the writings of our old poets to April as the season of youthful pleasures, and which probably occurred in Shakspeare's recollection, he might besides have had in view the decorations which accompany the above month in some of the manuscripts and printed calendars, where the young folks are represented as sitting together on the grass; the men surrounding the girls with chaplets of flowers. From the following lines in one of these, the passage in question seems to derive considerable illustration.

"The sun Y^e gave merrily down and twenty
 And dyed it in the July April
 That time of pleasure was both sweet plenty
 Feeds and lapping the later in July &c."

Ec. 4. pp. 164. 165.

But, Give me a tooth—

I'll be a tooth-holder, and look on.

Footnote, describing a dinner on Christmas day

in the hall of the castle of Gaston Earl of Foix at Orlens, in the year 1546, has these words: "At mydayght when he came out of his chamber into the halle to supper, he had ever before hym twelve torches burning, borne by twelve varletts standing before his table all supper." In Rastell's *Mirror of manners*, 1577, 4to, is the following passage: "This maske that ended, with viandis accordingly appointed, there were certain poety fellows ready, as the custome is, in maske to carry torches, &c." In the *Musee Jacq.*, being a collection of wood engravings representing the actions of Maximilian the First, there is a very curious exhibition of a masque before the emperor, in which the performers appear with their viandis, and one of them holds a torch in his hand. There is another print on the same subject by Albert Durer. The practice of carrying torch lights at entertainments continued even after the time of Shakespeare. See a future note on *Hamlet*, Act. iii. sc. 2.

Sc. 4. p. 208.

Blas. If thou art dead, we'll draw thee from the grave.

There is no doubt that this is an allusion to some now forgotten sport or game, which gave

due to a proscribed expression, *Das* is in the mine, used when a person was at a stand, or plunged into any difficulty. We find it as early as Chaucer's time in the *Maniple's* prologue,

"Then gan our herte to jape and to play,
And sayde; now, what! *Das* is in the mine."

How the above sport was practised we have still to learn. *Das* is, no doubt, the name of a horse or an ass. There is an equivalent phrase, *Nothing is holder than Hyde Bayard* which falls in with the mine. See Dr. Bulmer's dialogue between *searants* and *chirurgi*, fo. 10; and there is also a proverb, *As deaf as Das* in the mine.

—————

Sc. 4. p. 276.

Mrs. ———— This is that very Blab
That plays the mouse of heaven on the eagle

No attempt has hitherto been made to explain this line, which alludes to a very singular superstition not yet forgotten in some parts of the country. It was believed that certain malignant spirits, whose delight was to wander in groves and pleasant places, assumed occasionally the likeness of women clothed in white; that in this character they sometimes haunted stables in

the night-time, carrying in their hands vases of wax, which they dropped on the horses' noses, thereby placing them in insupportable knots, to the great annoyance of the poor animals and vexation of their masters. These bags are mentioned in the works of William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris in the 13th century. There is a very uncommon old print by Hans Burgemeister relating to this subject. A witch enters the stable with a lighted torch, and previously to the operation of entangling the horse's nose, practices her enchantments on the groom, who is lying asleep on his back, and apparently influenced by the nightmare. The *filomenes*, or *effataes*, were regarded as charms against the hot-mentioned disease and against evil spirits of all kinds; but the *cerusses* or *herals*, and all perforated filastones, were not only used for the same purpose, but more particularly for the protection of horses and other cattle, by suspending them in stables, or tying them round the necks of the animals.

The text here,

"And takes the elf-locks in that double bag,"

seems to be unconnected with the preceding, and to mark a superstition which, as Dr. Warburton has observed, may have originated from the joint

Palmer, which was supposed to be the operation of wicked stars, whence the clotted hair was called *ajfalels* and *ajfalems*. Thus *Edgar* talks of "ajfing all his hair in knots." *Lodge*, in his *Wit's mirror*, 1595, 400, describing a devil whom he names *Firewing-mustard*, says: "his ordinary apparel is a hole low-crown'd hat with a feather in it like a dovishorn; his haire is curled, and full of silver knots and rings for want of kumbling."

ACT III.

Scene 1. Page 396.

Rom. It is the East, and Juliet is the sun.

This line in particular, and perhaps the whole of the scene, has been imitated by the ingenious author of the Latin comedy of *Labyrinthæ*. In Act iii. Sc. 4, two lovers meet at night, and the Roman of the piece says to his mistress, "*Quid miri nocturnæ conamatorum, mea salus? Splendens nunc solis clausis dies, ut in primæ, nunc lux, colorum radiis bruce dispulsi tenebræ.*" This excellent play was acted before King James I. at Cambridge, and the bustle and contrivance has perhaps never been excelled.

Sc. 2. p. 338.

See. Thou art thyself enough, not a Message.

Dr. Johnson would have substituted *then* for *though*, but without necessity, because in that sense the latter word was anciently written, *also*: *unskillful printers*, deceived by sound, substituted *though*; whence the ambiguity has arisen. Thus Chaucer in his *Canterbury tales*, v. 2114,

" Yet may the lorde, and fulsom right also
 With lady here and with a lady wyge
 Be noon."

And again, v. 5182,

" Forthrik wroote that was she in thyng here."

Thus much in explanation of *though*, if you have for *then*, which is by no means clear. Mr. Malone's quotations on the other side of the question carry great weight with them.

Sc. 3. p. 400.

See. What he heretide the lady going clouds
 And sets upon the bosom of the air.

On this occasion Shakespeare recollected the 104th psalm, "Who maketh the clouds his

cheer, who walketh upon the wings of the wind."

Sc. II. p. 408.

Jos. ————— at *lover's passion*,
They say, *Jos* laughs.

This Shakespeare found in Ovid's *Art of Love*;
perhaps in Marlow's translation; book II.

"For *Jos* himself sits in the merry dance,
And laughs below at *lover's passion*."

With the following beautiful allusion to the above lines, every reader of taste will be gratified. It is given verbatim from some old play, the name of which is forgotten;

"When *lover* meets *love's flesh*, the laughing angels
Stand on the golden battlements of heaven,
And wait their turn to the eternal throne."

Sc. II. p. 410.

Jos. How silver-sweet sound *lover's tongue* by night.

In *Pericles*, Act V., we have *silver-sweet*. Perhaps these epithets have been formed from the common notion that silver mixed with bells softens and improves their tone. We say likewise that a person is *silver-tongued*.

Sc. 2. p. 414.

PAR. O wretched is the powerful grief, that has
 In herbs, plants, stones, and their true qualities,
 For nought so vile that on the earth doth live,
 But to the earth some special good doth give;
 Nor ought so good, but even from that fair use
 Revolts from true birth, stumbling on abuse.

Thus all the copies. But in Swan's *Speculum* manuscript, the first edition of which was published in 1635, they are quoted with the following variations;

"O wretched is the powerful grief that has
 In herbs, stones, stones, and their true qualities
 For nought so vile that on the earth doth live,
 But to the earth some secret good doth give,
 And nought so rich as other seed or stuff;
 But, y'wonder, for where is the life?"

Sc. 4. p. 437.

MAR. — for this drowning love is like a great animal,
 that even killing up and down is full his handle
 as a hole.

When the physical conformation of idiots is considered, the harsh but obscene allusion which this speech conveys will be instantly perceived.

What follows is still less worthy of particular illustration. *Mercutio* dies in this sort of language. The epithet *drinking* is applied to love as a *cleaving* idler; but Sir Philip Sidney has made *Cupid* an old drinker. See the lines quoted from the *Arcadia* by Dr. Farmer, *Much* asks about nothing, *Act III. Sc. II.*

Sc. 4. p. 451.

Nurse. I pray you sit, what *mean* merchant was this,
that was so full of his *money*?

Mr. Stowens has justly observed that the term *merchant* was anciently used in contradistinction to *gentleman*. *Phleasius*, in his *Mirror for magistrates of cyins*, 1554, &c., speaking of the vicious practices of the citizens of London who attended the gaming-houses for the purpose of supplying the gentlemen players with money, has the following remark: "The extremity of these mean dealings hath borne and is so cruel as there is a natural dislike generally impressed in the hearts of the gentlemen of England towards the citizens of London, inasmuch as if they callously name a man, they forthwith call him, a *mean merchant*. In like despite the citizens calleth every man a *jolly gentleman*. And

truly this mortal coil between these two wretched estates, was first engendered of the crafty usage of covetous merchants as hard bargainers gores of gentlemen, and nourished with malicious words and revenges taken of both parties."

With respect to *repery*,—the word seems to have been denoted unworship of a place in our early dictionaries, and was probably coined in the mind of the slang or canting crew. It answers strongly of the halter, and appears to have signified a low kind of knavish waggery. From some other words of similar import, it may derive illustration. Thus a *rope-ryper* is defined in Haker's *Abstruserism* to be "an ambiguous wright-halter, *reperous*;" and in Nasham's dictionary, "one ripe for a rope, or for whom the gallows grows." A *reper* has nearly the same definition in the English vocabulary at the end of *Thomson's Dictionary*, 1815, 460; but the word occasionally denoted a crafty fellow, or one who would practice a fraud against another (for which he might deserve hanging). So in the book of blinding of arms or coat armour, ascribed to Dame Juliana Barnes, the author says, "which means I saw but late in charmes of a noble man: the whiche in very deede was contrived a crafty man, a *reper*, as he himself sayd," sig. Aij. b. *Reper* had

also another sense, which, though rather foreign to the present purpose, is so quaintly expressed in one of our old dictionaries, that the insertion of it will doubtless be excused:—"Roper, *verbo*, is he that looketh in at John Roper's window by translation, he that hangeth himself." Holist's *Affordarium Anglico-Latinum*, 1639, folio. *Roper*, *trick*, elsewhere used by Shakspeare, belongs also to this family.

Sc. 4. p. 481.

ROMEO. I am none of his *dim-mats*.

This has been explained *ret-direct comparisons*, and *frequentative of the fencing-school*, from *dim*, a knife or dagger. The objection to this interpretation is, that the name could not very well compare herself with characters which it is presumed "would scarcely be found among females of any description. One commentator thinks that she uses *stetho-metre* for *dim-metre*, and *robery* for *raguery*; but the latter words have been already shown to be synonymous, and the existence of such a term as *dim-metre* may be questioned. Besides, the error blunders only in the use of less obvious words.

The following conjecture is therefore offered,

but not with entire confidence in its propriety. It will be recollected that there are *shams of shams*, so that the good name may perhaps mean nothing more than *comparisons*, a word not always used in the most honourable acceptation. She had before stated that she was "none of his *firt-gills*."

ACT III.

Scene 1. Page 432.

Bent. O! I am *damned*!

"I am *damned* running in the way of evil fortune, like the *fool* in the *play*," says Dr. Johnson. There is certainly no allusion to any *play*. See the note in vol. i. p. 258.

Sc. 2. p. 474.

Jen. That *cut-swing's* eye may wink.

A great deal of ingenious criticism has been expended in endeavouring to ascertain the meaning of this expression. Dr. Warburton thought the *runaway* in question was the *sun*; but Mr. Heath has most completely disproved this opinion.

Mr. Swenson considers the passage as extremely elliptical, and regards the night as the runaway; making Juliet wish that her eyes, the stars, might refuse to prevent discovery. Mr. Justice Blackstone can perceive nothing operative in the line, but simply a means for Juliet's wish for a cloudy night; yet according to this construction of the passage, the grammar of it is not very easily to be discovered.

Whoever attentively reads over Juliet's speech, will be inclined to think, or even be altogether satisfied, that the whole sense of it is operative. With respect to the calling night a runaway, one might easily ask how it can possibly be so termed in an abstract point of view? Is it a greater fugitive than the morning, the noon, or the evening? Mr. Swenson lays great stress on Shakespeare's having before called the night a runaway in *The merchant of Venice*,

"For the dark night hath play'd the runaway,"

but there it was already for advanced, and might therefore with great propriety be said to play the runaway; here it was not begun. The same remark will apply to the other passage cited by Mr. Swenson from *The fair maid of the Exchange*. Where then is this runaway to be

found? or can it be Juliet herself? She who had just been secretly married to the enemy of her parents might with some propriety be termed a runaway from her day; but she had not abandoned her native poetry. She therefore invokes the night to veil those rites which she was about to perform, and to bring her Romeo to her arms in darkness and in silence. The lines that immediately follow may be thought to favour this interpretation; and the whole scene may possibly bring to the reader's recollection an interesting part in the beautiful story of Cupid and Psyche.

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Sc. II. p. 463.

Jul. Having then taken with her's-up to the day

Of the notes on this line, that by Mr. Malone is most to the point. He has shown from Cotgrave, that the *lark's-up* was "a morning song to a new married woman, &c.;" and it was, no doubt, an imitation of the hint to wake the husband, uttered by Mr. Strevens, as was that in the celebrated Scottish book of gaily and spiritual songs, beginning,

"Wak lark up, with lark's up,
It is now peewie day;
Awak our King as gae is larkin',
Gae like to speed thy day."

It is not improbable that the following was the identical song composed by the person of the name of Gray mentioned in Mr. Elton's note. It occurs in a collection entitled *Shewing, Leaping, &c.*, already cited in the course of the remarks on *The merry wives of Windsor*. There was likewise a country dance with a similar title.

- CRO. { The hunt is up, the hunt is up,
 Sing merrily now, the hunt is up,
 The hounds they sing,
 The hounds they sing,
 Hey, hoay hoay-ah :-
 The hounds they cry,
 The hounds they cry,
 Hey twidle, twiddle,
 The hunt is up, and upen,

 The wood sounds
 To hear the hounds,
 Hey, hoay hoay-ah :-
 The hounds report
 The merry sport,
 Hey, twidle, twiddle.
- CRO. { The hunt is up, the hunt is up,
 Sing merrily now, the hunt is up,
 Then hys upon,
 Down the chase,
 Hey hoay, hoay-hoy
 While every thing
 Dance merrily sing,
 Hey twidle, twiddle.
- CRO. { The hunt is up, the hunt is up,
 Sing merrily now, the hunt is up.

Sc. 3. p. 456.

Myssa. ————— as eagle, modern.

Has not as green, as quick, as clear as eye.

Besides the authorities already produced in favour of green eyes, and which show the improbability of Hamner's alteration to *dear*, a hundred others might, if necessary, be given. The early French poets are extremely fond of alluding to them under the title of *yeux verts*, which Mont. Le Grand has in vain attempted to convert into *yeux noirs*, or grey eyes*. It must be confessed that the scarcity, if not total absence of such eyes in modern times, might well have excited the doubts of the above indolgent and agreeable writer. For this let naturalists, if they can, account. It is certain that green eyes were found among the ancients. Plinius then alludes to them in his *Circusio* :

* Qui brevis homo

Est collatus rostro aspe oculi heret ?†

Lord Verulam says : " Green eyes with a green circle between the white and the white of the

* *Philos. de anat.*, tom. vi. p. 215.

eye, signify long life." *Abet. of life and death*, p. 114. Villa real, a Portuguese, has written a treatise in praise of them, and they are even said to exist now among his countrymen. See Pinkerton's *Geography*, vol. i. p. 326, and Stevenson's *Shakespeare*, vol. v. 114. 303.

ACT IV.

Scene 2. Page 304.

Cap. Where have you been gadding?

Mr. Steevens remarks that "the primitive sense of this word was to struggle from house to house and collect money under pretence of singing carols to the blessed Virgin;" and he quotes a note on Milton's *Lycidas* by Mr. Warton: but this definition seems too refined. Mr. Warton's authority is an old register at Goddington, in these words, "Keenrid at the gadyng with Guyan Mary songs at Colman." If the original were attentively examined, it would perhaps turn out that the word in question has some mark of contraction over it, which would convert it into *gadyng*, i. e. gathering or collecting money, and not imply going about from house to house according to Mr. Warton's explanation.

Sc. 5. p. 525.

For and rich your memory
On this fair coronet

This plant was used in various ways at festivals. Being an evergreen, it was regarded as an emblem of the soul's immortality. Thus in *Cartwright's Ordinary*, Act v. Sc. 1.

" If there be
Any so kind as to accompany
My body to the earth, let them not want
For entertainment, ye shall see they have
A spring of memory dy'd in constant water
To wash in as they walk along the streets."

In an obituary kept by Mr. Smith, secondary of one of the Comptons, and preserved among the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum, No. 886, is the following entry: "Jan. 2. 1671. Mr. Cornelius Ben bookseller in Little Britain died; buried Jan. 4. at Great St. Bartholomew's without a sermon, without wine or wafer, only gloves and memory."

And Mr. Gay, when describing Blount's funeral, records that

"Spragg'd memory the hole and leaves here"

So. *It.* p. 528.

For, *No money, on my faith; but the giveth: I will
give you the minstrel.*

From what has been said in vol. I. p. 110, it becomes necessary to withdraw as much of a former note as relates to the game of glee. To *give* the minstrel, is no more than a punning phrase for giving the glee. Minstrels and jesters were uniformly called *gleemen* or *glegemen*.

So. *It.* p. 528.

For, *When grieving grief the heart doth wound
And delight doings the mind oppresses.*

The following stanza from one of Whitney's *Emblems*, 1566, 4to, is not very dissimilar from that of Richard Edwards, commented in the note by Sir John Hawkins, and may serve to confirm the propriety of Mr. Steevens's observation, that the epithet *grieving* was not calculated to excite laughter in the time of Shakespeare.

" If grieving griefs have hurtment in the heart
And pleasure men late brings unto the same,
On strange contemplation stand more than of their rest,
And that sad sight, do brings them out of them: I
Then choose a friend, and stay his counsel to serve,
Least secret sighs, do bring untimely grave."

Gripping griefs and doleful dumps are very thickly interspersed in *Greene's Golden Aspidochelone*, 1577, 4to, and in many other places. They were great favourites; but griefs were not always gripping. Thus in *Turberville's translation of Ovid's epistle from Helen to Leander*;

"What, if I loved, at work
For gripping griefs I do."

ACT V.

Scene 1. Page 134.

Enter An alligator and Lorenzo.

Our dictionaries supply no materials towards the etymology of this word, which was probably introduced into the language by some of our early voyagers to the Spanish or Portuguese settlements in the newly discovered world. They would hear the Spaniards discovering of the animal by the name of *el lagarto*, or the lizard; *Lac. Aroreia*; and on their return home, they would inform their countrymen that this sort of creature was called an alligator. It would not be difficult to trace other corrupted words in a similar manner.

STORY OF THE PLAY.

It has hitherto remained unnoticed, that one of the material incidents in this drama is to be found in *The last adventures of Astrucourt and Aukin*, usually called the *Epilogue of Xenophon of Ephesus*. The heroine of this romance, separated, by a series of misfortunes, from her husband, falls into the hands of robbers, from whom she is rescued by a young nobleman called Perillus. He becomes enamoured of her; and she, fearing violence, affects to consent to marry him; but on the arrival of the appointed time, manifests a poisonous draught which she had procured from Eudorus, an old physician and the friend of Perillus, to whom she had communicated the secret of her history. Much lamentation is made for her death, and she is conveyed with great pomp to a sepulchre. As she had only taken a sleeping poison, she soon awakes in the tomb, which, on account of the riches it contained, is plundered by some thieves, who also carry her off. This work was certainly not published nor translated in the time of Luigi da Porto, the original narrator of the story of *Romeo and Juliet*;

but there is no reason why he might not have seen a copy of the original in manuscript.

Two incidents in this Greek romance are likewise to be found in *Cymbeline*; one of which is the following. Antioch having become the slave of Mnaso and her husband, he is captivated with her beauty; and this leading to the knowledge of the jealous Mnaso, she orders a trusty servant to carry Antioch into a wood and put her to death. This man, like the servant in *Hamlet*, and Pisanio in *Shakespeare*, countermands the situation of Antioch, spares her life, and provides the means for her future safety. A similar occurrence is introduced into some of the tales of the middle ages. The other is the almost-forgotten draught of poison swallowed by Imogen, as by Antioch, though not with precisely the same effect. As it is not to be found either in *Boccaccio* or in the old story-book of *Wentworth's* *for much*, one might suspect that some novel, imitated from the *Epheciæ*, was existing in the time of *Shakespeare*, though now unknown.



HAMLET.

ACT I.

Scene I. Page 9.

Mar. Then art another, speak to it, Horatio.

THE reason why the common people believed that ghosts were only to be addressed by scholars seems to have been, that the exercises of terrible-spirits were usually performed in *Latin*.

Sc. I. P. 11.

Ham. The soul that is the trumpet to the moon,
Dial with his lily and shell-ascending throat
Shower the dust of day, and in his winding,
Whether stars or day, or earth or sea,
The conjugial and arroyo spirit live
To his tongue.

Besides the hymn of Prodanica referred to in Dr. Farmer's note, there is another said to have been composed by Saint Andrew, and formerly used in the Salisbury service. It contains the following lines, which so much resemble Hamlet's

speech, that one might almost suppose Shakespeare had seen them :

" *Prædidisti enim,
 Mors prolecula peragis,
 Morsus tua veniens,
 A voce vocem arguens.
 Nec morsus laqueis,
 Nec pulvis est pulvis
 Nec mors erasus clausus
 Plura secunda clausis,
 Gula morsusque melle, &c."*

See *Explicite hysteron proteron* nam Seneca, pt. by R. Pynson, n. d. 4to, fo. vii b. The epithets extravagant and wrong are highly poetical and appropriate, and seem to prove that Shakespeare was not altogether ignorant of the Latin language.

Se. II. p. 15.

Ham. O that the Heavening had not hid
 The secret 'twixt my lips and tongue.

Mr. Strevens says, "there are yet those who suppose the old reading (*canon*, in the sense of artillery) to be the true one." He himself was not of the number. It must be owned that *giving a canon* is an odd mode of vengeance on the part of the Deity; yet it is still more difficult

to conceive in what manner this instrument could operate in avenging suicide. The pedants of Hercules, who were the Goths of their time, might, if now existing, be competent to explain all this; or, indeed, we might ourselves suppose that suicides could be blown into atoms as the rascals sometimes are, by tying them to the cannon's mouth, a method equally humane with the practice of driving stakes through their bodies. Mr. Malone's happy quotation has for ever fixed the proper meaning.

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Sc. 2. p. 61.

How ~~uncommon~~ the ~~general~~ habit went

Did really furnish both the marriage table

The practice of making entertainments at funerals which prevailed in this and other countries, and which is not even at present quite disused in some of the northern counties of England, was certainly borrowed from the *cena fœnalis* of the Romans, alluded to in Juvenal's fifth satire, and in the laws of the twelve tables. It consisted of an offering of a small piece of milk, honey, wine, flowers, &c., to the ghost of the deceased. In the instances of herons and other great characters,

the same custom appears to have prevailed among the Greeks. With us the appetites of the living are consulted on this occasion. In the North this feast is called an *areal* or *arelschuppen*; and the leaves that are sometimes distributed among the poor, *areal* bread. Not many years since one of these areals was celebrated in a village in Yorkshire at a public-house, the sign of which was the family arms of a nobleman whose motto is *VIRTUS POST FUNERIS VITÆ*. The undertaker, who, though a clerk, was an scholar, requested a gentleman present to explain to him the meaning of these Latin words, which he readily and facetiously did in the following manner: *Firmus*, a parish clerk, *vicit*, beat well, *post funera*, at an areal. The latter word is apparently derived from some lost Teutonic term that indicated a funeral pile on which the body was burned in times of Paganism. Thus *areil* in Icelandic signifies the inside of an oven. The common parent seems to have been *ar*, fire; whence *ara*, an altar of fire, *ardeo*, *ardere*, *ar, ar, ar*. So the pile itself was called *ara* by Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 117:

"*Hæc ara, firmus ardere, ardeat apud hæc
Cœperat ardorem, ardeat ardore ardere*"

Sc. 2. p. 41.

Ham. He was a man, who lives for all in all,
I shall not look upon his like again.

In further support of the proposed elegant emendation, "*Eye shall not look, &c.*," this passage in 1 Corinth. ch. li. v. 9, may be adduced,—
"*Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, the things which he hath prepared for them that love him.*"
An objection of some weight may however be made to this change; which is, that in relation some ambiguity might arise, or at least the force of it would not be perceived; whereas the other reading could not be mistaken.

Sc. 2. p. 41.

Fra. But do not sell thy polie with reticement
Of such new-hatch'd, untold'st conceits.

In Tavernier's *Proverbes ou Adages*, gathered out of the *Chabrier of Erasmus*, 1569, 1570, is the following adage: "*No cuius perrigis doctorem. Holde not forth thy hands to every man. He meneth wee should not unachordle admire every body like our friendship and faith.*"

Hamlet." In the margin of the copy from which this extract is made, some person has written the above lines from Hamlet, on which the whole serves as an excellent comment, supporting Dr. Johnson's explanation of them in a remarkable manner.

Sc. 4. p. 58.

Ham. The King doth wake to-night, and takes his room.

This word is used in the various significations of a riotous noise, a drunken debauch, and a large portion of liquor. We had it probably from our Saxon or Danish progenitors; and though the original word is lost, it remains in the German *rausch*. Hence our *carousal*; *revel* is of the same family, and perhaps the word *row*, which was very much used a few years since. The Greeks too had their *νοσηριον*, *noisia abietion*.

Sc. 4. p. 60.

Ham. And as he drains his draughts of Rhenish down,
The harkness'd trumpet that lay on
The tumpet of his plodg.

Thus Chevalier in his *Fierro*, or *The Sea-rovers*,

"Tasting his draughts with drowsy head
As Dutch carvers by bottle-heads."

Sc. i. p. 68.

Ham. Represented —

As the whole that appertains to this incident, and, as connected with convivial manners, interesting word, has scattered in various places, and has been detailed by writers whose opinions are extremely discordant, an attempt seemed necessary to digest within a reasonable compass the most valuable of the materials on the subject. There cannot be the smallest doubt that the story itself is to be sought for in the well known story of Fortingeb and Rowena, or Rowin, the daughter of Hengist; the earliest authority for which is that of Walter Capelin, who supplied the materials for Geoffrey of Monmouth's history. He relates that on Fortingeb's first interview with the lady, she knelted before him, and presenting a cup of wine, said to him, "*Leof king, weohð he!*" or in pure Saxon *weat he!*; literally, be health, or health be to you! As the king was unacquainted with the Saxon language, he inquired the meaning of these words; and being told that they wished him health, and that he should answer them by saying *drinc he!*, he did so, and commended Rowena to drink. Then, taking the cup from her hand, he kissed the damsel and pledged her. The historian adds, that

from that time to his own, the custom remained in Britain that whoever drank to another at a feast said *wælc heil*, and he that immediately after received the cup answered *drinc heil*. Robert of Brunne, in translating this part of Geoffrey of Monmouth, has preserved a curious addition to it. He states that Vortigern, not comprehending the words of Rowena, demanded their meaning from one of his Britons, who immediately explained to him the Saxon custom as follows :

"*This is the custom and the greet,
When they are at the ale or beot,
Ek men that here speke this clerk,
Salle sey Wælclic, and to him drink.
He that take wille sey, Wælclic,
The wiler alle sey aȝen, Drinc heilic.
That wælclic drinke of the cup,
Kæned his ðrow he giveth ȝep;
Drincliclic, he wile, and drinke therof,
Kæned him to beot and chof;
The king wile as the knyght þow þow
Drincliclic, wilend on Rowena,
Kæned drinc to him beot,
And gæw the king, wile him beot.
There was the ðow wælclic in ðeale
And the ðow of here greet
Of that wælclic men told grette tale,
And wælclic when the wælc to ðe
And drincliclic to them that drinc
That was wælclic men to ðeale.*"

An old metrical fragment preserved by Hrotha in his glossary to Robert of Gloucester's chronicle, carries the practice of wassailing much higher, even to the time of Saint Alban in the third century :

" In that yere wassail welle,
 Cane first wassail and drynkethyl
 In to this lande, wassaila wene,
 Thyngha a mayle, legh and witten
 Beke was cleped wassail Yage."

The chronicle proceeds to relate a story of this Yage, who quitted Saxony with several others of her countrymen on account of hunger, and, arriving in Britain, obtained of the king as much land as she should be able to cover with a bull's hide. . She afterwards invited the king and his nobles to a feast, and giving him wine, treacherously slew him, her companions following the example by murdering the nobles. By these means she obtained possession of the whole kingdom, which was from her afterwards called England. This statement is unworthy of notice in an historical point of view, being manifestly a corrupt account of the arrival of Hengist as related by Geoffrey of Monmouth. But the story of Vortigern is not improbable, and has at least furnished the origin of the words *wasl* and *drink wasl*, as

and at convivial meetings in this country; for whatever may have been said or imagined concerning any previous custom of health-drinking among the Saxons or other German nations, it is certain that no equivalent term with our word is to be found in any of the Teutonic dialects.

Among other valuable remarks that have already been made in some notes on this word by Moxon, Stevens and Malone, it has been observed that the wassail bowl was particularly used at the season of Christmas, and that in process of time wassail came to signify not only meetings of rustic mirth, but also general riot, intemperance, and fertility. In the eleventh volume of *Archæologia*, the learned Dr. Milner has exhibited and described an ancient calice cup, formerly belonging to the abbey of Gloucestery, which with great probability he supposes to be of Saxon times, and to have been used for wassailing. In *The antiquarian repository*, vol. i. p. 217, there is an account, accompanied with an engraving, of an calice chimney-piece in a very old house at Benham near Swindon in Kent, on which is carved a wassail bowl resting on the branches of an apple-tree, alluding, probably, to part of the materials of which the liquor was composed. On one side is the word *Wassheyl*, and on the other *Drinchele*.

This is certainly a very great curiosity of its kind, and at least as old as the fourteenth century. Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, in his will gave to Sir John Boddlewood a silver cup called *wassail*; and it appears that John Duke of Bedford, the regent, by his first will bequeathed to John Barton, his *maître d'hôtel*, a silver cup and cover, on which was inscribed *wassail*. During the Christmas holidays these *wassail-bowls* were often carried from house to house by the common people with a view to collect money. There are, besides, other significations of the word *wassail* that deserve to be noticed. These are, 1. A drinking song sung on the eve of Twelfth-day. 2. A custom of throwing toast to apple-trees for the purpose of procuring a fruitful year, which, says Mr. Gosse, who has mentioned this practice in his provincial glossary, seems to be a relic of the heathen sacrifice to Pomona. 3. The contents of the *wassail-cup*, which were of different materials, as spiced wine or ale, with roasted apples and sugar, mead, or metheglin, &c. There was also what was called *wassail* or more properly *wassail-bread*, which may be deserving of particular notice, as there is much diversity of opinion among those who have mentioned it. Bishop Lenth, in his *Life of William of Wykeham*, had supposed that

the term was derived from the *wastell*, vessel or basket in which the bread was made, or carried or weighed; an etymology which is with great reason controverted by Dr. Skinner in his paper on the Gloucestery cap. The latter writer is of opinion, that during the times of wastelling a finer sort of bread was provided, which on that account was called *wastel-bread*; and other persons had already concluded that the bread in question took its name from being dipped in the wastel-bowl. As a preliminary objection to these conjectures, it must be observed that the genuine orthography of the word is *waste*, and not *wastel*, which is undoubtedly a corruption, and has led to much misconception. The earliest instance in which mention is made of *wastel-bread* is the statute of Henry III., entitled *Quia patet et crescit*; where it is coupled with the *stunel bread*, which was made of the very finest flour, and twice baked. It appears from the next statute that *wastel-bread* was near in fineness to the *stunel*, and is described as *white bread well baked*. There does not seem therefore any reason for concluding that the *wastel bread* was in particular, but in general use at all times. We are told by Hoveden the historian, that at an interview which took place

between William king of Scotland and Richard the First, at Northampton, a charter was granted to the Scottish monarch, in which it was agreed, that, whenever he should be summoned to the English court for the performance of homage, his daily allowance, among other things, should consist of twelve *mince* and as many *meals*. In Matthew Paris's history of the abbots of Saint Alban's, p. 141, it is said of the abbot; "*Solus in refectione prædebet superius, habens varietatem.*" It is surprising how Mr. Watts the editor should misconceive the meaning of this word so much as to call it a *conceit*; nor is it indeed much less extraordinary that Dr. Milner, who is so well skilled in ecclesiastical antiquities, should have supposed it to signify a *meat-bowl*. The regulation is general, and it had escaped the learned writer's recollection that *mincing* was of a particular mean; for it could not be applied in its subordinate sense of revelling or rioting, to ascribe a person as an abbot. The Doctor might have been misled by the authority of Mr. Blount in his edition of Cowell's law dictionary, where the conjecture on the part of Mr. Somner, that the *meat bowl* might have been derived from *partibus*, is termed *mechery*; but, as it is presumed, without sufficient reason, although it may not be

the exact origin of the expression. Chaucer, speaking of his Priores, says,

" Of such a bousden hadde she, that she fedde
With costel fode, and soft, and sweet brede."

We cannot suppose that these animals would have been regaled with a food which was set apart for particular festivities, but rather with what was to be procured at all times, though of a more delicate and expensive nature. In short, what seems to be the most probable original of this much-disputed word is the French *gastel*, or, as the Picard language *gastel* or *gastel*, and signifying a cake; a name which might with great propriety have been applied to this sort of bread on account of its superior quality, in like manner as the *amanet* bread was so termed from the Latin *amanet* the finest part of the flour. The cake-like form, too, of this kind of bread seems to be alluded to in the following extract from the register of William of Wykeham, which has been quoted by Bishop Lush for a very different, but, as it is submitted, inapplicable purpose: "*Octo panes de manetis, postea deus equatibus manetis unus nichil convertendus,*" i. e. eight loaves in the form of manetis or cakes, the weight of each being that of a conventional

manchet. And to conclude this part of the subject, in the old French language the term *was-teller* is used for a pastry-cook, or maker of *was-tours*, where it is not likely that there could have been any connexion with our *wassail* in its Saxon and legitimate construction. What the heralds call *torseaux*, in reality little cakes, from the French *tourte*, were likewise termed *manchet*, as we learn from the old book on coat armour ascribed to Dame Juliana Barnes, the celebrated abbess of Sopewell near Saint Albans.

The *wassail* songs were sung during the festivities of Christmas, and, in earlier times, principally by those itinerant minstrels who frequented the houses of the gentry, where they were always certain of the most welcome reception. It has indeed been the chief purpose in discussing the present subject, to introduce to the reader's notice a composition of this kind, which is perhaps at the same time to be regarded as the most ancient drinking song, composed in England, that is extant. This singular curiosity has been written on a spare leaf in the middle of a valuable miscellaneous manuscript of the fourteenth century, preserved in the British Museum, Bibl. Reg. 16, E. viii. It is probably more than a century older

that the manuscript itself, and must have been composed at a time when the Norman language was very familiar in England. In the endeavour to translate it some difficulties were to be encountered; but it has been an object to preserve the whole and sometimes literal sense of the original, while from the nature of the English stanza it was impossible to dispense with amplification.

AN ANGLO-NORMAN SONG.

Requies en paradis a moi,
 De l'air n'avez n'avez a moi,
 Par quez Nostre,
 Car l'air n'est de l'air n'est l'air
 Rebut n'est en l'air n'est
 A l'air n'est,
 De l'air n'est a l'air n'est
 Et a l'air Nostre l'air n'est.

Requies je n'est de l'air n'est
 Et l'air Nostre n'est l'air
 De l'air n'est
 Rebut n'est n'est,
 De l'air, de l'air de l'air,
 Par l'air l'air
 De l'air a l'air n'est l'air.

Sesquiers il est - vrai en tout,
 Que tel qui desquiert vite et fort,
 Et s'engourdit ;
 Et tel les grands honneurs croquet
 Devient débile quandqu'il desquiert.
 Pour faire honneur :
 Dieu clout li.

Sesquiers aussi les malices,
 Car une fois les traveurs juchés
 De l'âme part :
 Fobes, fobes, fobes granzes,
 Car tel dieu n'a que conseil.
 Pour faire honneur.
 Dieu clout.

Nous voyez bien li via English
 Et li Gascon et li Provençal
 Et l'Anglois :
 Nous ont honneur nos vaines,
 Et qui ne clout, li plus malades,
 Sont li plus.
 Dieu clout a touz cels.

Sesquiers je vous ai par Nous,
 Et par li nous de nos honneurs,
 Car l'âme l'âme
 Et je prouve honneur li nous,
 Et puis après chacun li nous,
 Pour nous conseil,
 Si je me de conseil. Wicquy
 D'ailleurs ne qui ne l'âme d'ailleurs!

TRANSLATION.

Lookings, from a distant home,
 To seek old Censorius or her son-come,
 Who loves not mortality !
 And here, unless report mis-say,
 The grey-haired deity, and on his lap
 Keeps yearly watch, ere yet
 With living death and gloom.

To all who haunt Censorius, and surround her lays,
 Love with his messages send, and come with joy their days*.

Lookings too, for we tell you true ;
 Censorius loves the jolly crew
 That gladly can defy :
 His silver hand is dally spent
 With rosy-faces, loves and woe's friend ;
 His guests with fish and flesh are fed,
 But lack the vinous pyre.

* These two lines were inserted, in the original, as a kind of burden or chorus at the end of each stanza, but as they only repeat upon the measure, the translators were perhaps wiser without them.

† It was the custom at this time to serve up at entertainments purple and pleasant plots, the fables of those elegant

Lordings, you know that he and now
 The saying is, "What gives good cheer,
 And freely spends his treasure;
 On him will sometimes heaven bestow
 Twice within thine thoughts here below,
 His happy hours shall surely show
 In never-ending pleasure."²

Lordings, believe us, know abroad;
 In every place our suitors sound;
 May all their suits be soon
 But surely show them some of you
 Chase worldly wealth that which away,
 And all who wish they have away
 Their pleasure and pain.

Citizens, speak our English word,
 Not Omelette (pale), nor French deluge,
 Nor liquor of Japan;
 He goes to the kitchen (pale) word,
 Till all the guests in sleep are shown't,
 Then upon you with the table's word,
 And plays the game now.

(Suits being externally preserved, and much pomp bestowed
 on their appearance. See what has been already said on
 this subject in vol. I. p. 473.)

² This is a satirical jest against the opinion of those who
 pretend that wine was not made in England. See the con-
 trary on this subject in *Archæologia*, vol. vi.

Lovings, is a new host's command,
 And Conscience joins his hand to hand,
 To drain the poisoning bowl :
 And I'll be foremost to obey ;
 Then pledge me this, and drink away,
 For Conscience needs here to day,
 And sleeps without control.

Now wouldst thou perchance ? and many say so he !
 But dost thou think, who answers not answers to me !

~~~~~

SC. 4. p. 60.

Ham. This heavy-headed revel, east and west,  
 Makes us traduce it, and use it of other nations :  
 They sleep as drunkards.

Dr. Johnson has noticed the frequent allusions in this play to the king's intemperance, a failing that seems to have been too common among the Danish sovereigns as well as their subjects. A lively French traveller being asked what he had seen in Denmark, replied, "*des de singulier, des qu'on y chante tous les jours, le roy boit*;" alluding to the French mode of celebrating Twelfth-day. See Dr. Bâleux, *Origines de quelques coutumes*, p. 55. Heywood in his *Philocronista, or The drunkard exposed*, descends, and descends, Hith, ho, speaking of what he calls the vivacity of nations, says of

the Danes, that "they have made a profusion thereof from antiquity, and are the first upon record that brought their vassell-houles and elbow-deep benches into this land."

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Sc. 4. p. 66.

Ham. That then, third sense, again, is *complete* sense.

This word is accented in both ways by our old poets as suited the sense. Thus in Spenser's *De Dierum*, edit. folio, 1601, p. 103:

"Who wote himself so *complete* every way."

But in *King John*, Act 2. we have:

"Such as she is, is beauty, virtue, hope,  
Is the young *Complete*, every way *complete*.  
Hast *complete*, oh ay, he is not she."

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Sc. 4. p. 66.

Ham. Why say you then, gentlemen, what should we do?

This interrogation is perfectly consistent with the opinions entertained by our forefathers concerning phæta, which they believed, had some particular motive for quitting the mansions of the dead; such as a desire that their bodies, if unburied, should receive Christian rites of sepul-

ture; that a murderer might be brought to due punishment, as in the present instance; with various other reasons. On this account Hamlet had already thus invoked the ghost;

" If there be any good thing to be done,  
That may do ease to the sad ghost to see,  
Speak to me."

Some of these superstitions have been transmitted from the earliest times. It was the established opinion among the ancient Greeks, that such as had not received the funeral rites would be excluded from Elysium, and that on this account the departed spirits continued in a restless state until their bodies underwent the usual ceremonies. Thus the wandering and agonised shade of Patroclus appears to Achilles in his sleep and demands the performance of his funeral. The *Hecuba* of Euripides supplies another instance of a troubled ghost. In like manner the unburied Polixenes complains to *Alfred*\*. In Plautus's

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\* The late Rev. Mr. Hole of Fordington in Dorsetshire, whose loss is deplored by all who knew him, has left an essay on the character of *Ulysses*, which has been recently published by some kind and grateful friends. In this elegant essay the learned author has noticed the anxiety which *Ulysses's* favourites have constantly evinced to give their enemies a prey to dogs, and thereby prevent the advantage of obtaining admission into the regions of happiness.

Montfleuris, the cunning servant endeavours to persuade his master that the house is haunted by the ghost of a man who had been murdered, and whose body remained without sepulture. The younger Pliny has a story of a haunted house at Aghora, in which a ghost played many pranks on account of his funeral rites being neglected. Nor were ghosts supposed to be less turbulent, even after burial, whenever the party had died a premature death, as we learn from Tertullian in his treatise *De anima*, cap. 20, where he says, "*Alant et immatura morte precepsas easque vagari solite, donec reliquias complectar ardua qua cum pervidant et non interpretantur obsequia.*"

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"*Sc. 5. p. 71.*

Ham. Speak, I am bound to hear.

Ghost. Be not close to revenge when thou shalt hear.

These words have been turned into ridicule by Fletcher in his *Woman-hater*, Act II. 5.

"*Lam. Speak, I am bound.*

"*Ghost. Be not close to revenge when thou shalt hear  
the fish-bowl is gone, and we know not  
whether."*

—————

Sc. 5. p. 74.

Geron. And for the day, would'st it is far in flow,  
 'Tis the foul crimes, &c.

A member of the church of Rome might be disposed to regard this expression as simply referring to a mental privation of all intercourse with the Deity. Such an idea would remove the inconsistency of ascribing corporeal sensations to the ghost, and might derive support from these lines in an ancient Christian hymn. See *Epiphani's hymn*, sec. *gram, barum*.

"*Se corporatus coram,  
 Dea per observationem,  
 Agnosce ut non solus  
 A deo periret servitium*"

The whole of the ghost's speech is remarkable for its terrific grandeur.

—————

Sc. 5. p. 75.

Geron. And shall should it then be that the fit word  
 That was said is now on Lætie's wheel?

The phant here alluded to might have been *Arctura*, of which Gerarde says that it causes drowsiness, and regulates and shifts the season.

Sc. 2.    p. 76.

Ham. O, my prophetic soul! my uncle!

Copied, perhaps maliciously, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Double marriage*, Act 2.

" Ham. O my prophetic soul!"

Sc. 2.    p. 77.

Ghost. But soft, methinks I see the morning star—  
The glow-worm shows the milky way to me.

It was the popular belief that ghosts could not endure the light, and consequently disappeared at the dawn of day. This superstition is derived from our northern ancestors, who held that the sun and every thing containing light or fire had the property of expelling demons and spirits of all kinds. With them it seems to have originated in the stories that are related in the Edda concerning the battles of Thor against the giants and evil demons, wherein he made use of his dreadful mallet of iron, which he hurled against them as Jupiter did his thunderbolts against the Titans. Many of the transparent precious stones were supposed to have the power of expelling evil spirits; and the flint and other stones found in

the tombs of the northern nations, and from which they might be extracted, were imagined, in like manner, to be efficacious in confining the souls of the dead to their proper habitations. They were called *Thor's hammer*.

Sc. II. p. 77.

*Queen.* With juice of aspidochelone in a rag,  
And in the parches of some ear-did pore, she

Dr. Grew had ingeniously supposed this word to be a mistake for *hemlock* or *hemlock*; but the best part of his note on the subject has been omitted, which is his reference to Pliny, who says that the oil of hemlock dropped into the ears disturbs the brain. Yet it does not appear that hemlock was ever called *hemlock*. The line cited by Mr. Swenson from Marlow's *Jew of Malta*, shows that the juice of *hemlock*, i. e. *hemlock*, was accounted poisonous; and in the English edition by Bannan, of *Methodicorum de preparationibus rerum*, so often cited in these observations as a *Methodicorum* book, the article for the word *hemlock* is entitled, "Of *hemlock*, Chap. 22." This comes so near to the text, that it is presumed very little doubt will now remain on the occasion. R.

is not surprising that the dropping into the ears should occur, because Shakespeare was perfectly well acquainted with the supposed properties of belladonna as recorded in Holland's translation of Pliny and elsewhere, and might apply this mode of use to any other poison.

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Sc. 5. p. 77.

Guine. ————— *It look poison*  
*And cast, like sugar-droppings into milk.*

Many readers may require to be told that *sugar-milk* *sear*, from the French *seigr*. In the preceding scene it is used in the sense of *stary*, and is there properly so explained; but the quotation of the present passage on that occasion seems misplaced.

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Sc. 5. p. 78.

Guine. ————— *and not to my content*  
*With all my imperfections on my head.*

Heywood, a contemporary writer, has imitated this in his play of *A woman kill'd with kindness*;

"————— *and not there, ladies*  
*With all their faults due upon their heads*  
*Under a fearful judgment."*



"*memorandum*"

Sec. 2. p. 81.

Ham. My table,—mean it is, I set a down.

It is remarkable that neither public nor private museums should furnish any specimens of these table-books, which seem to have been very common in the time of Shakespeare; nor does any attempt appear to have been made towards ascertaining exactly the materials of which they were composed. Certain it is, however, that they were sometimes made of stone in the form of a small portable book with leaves and chaps. Such a one is fortunately engraved in Gessner's treatise *De rerum fossilium figuris*, Sec. Figur. 1555, 12mo, which is not to be found in the folio collection of his works on natural history. The learned author thus describes it: "*Pagillaria è lenticula cum nigri stello, cum stylo ex sodam.*" His figure of it is here copied.



To such a table-book, the Archbishop of York seems thus to allude in *The second part of King Henry IV.* Act iv. Sc. 1:

"And therefore will he wipe his table clean  
And keep no roll-tale to his memory—"

In the middle ages the leaves of these table-books were made of ivory. Maffei has engraved one of them in the third volume of his "*Antiquities*," plate cxciv., the subject of which clearly shows that the learned writer has committed an error in ascribing them to roman times. In Chaucer's *Sompnour's tale* one of the friars is provided with

"A par of tables all of ivory,  
And a point of spoked ivory,  
And wrote every the names, as he stood,  
Of alle folk that passen by his god."

The Roman practice of writing on wax tablets with a stile was continued also during the middle ages. In several of the monastic libraries in France specimens of wooden tables filled with wax and constructed in the fourteenth century were preserved. Some of these contained the household expenses of the sovereigns, &c., and consisted of as many as twenty pages, formed into a book by means of parchment bands glued to the backs of the leaves.

One remaining in the Abbey of St. Germain des pr s at Paris, recorded the expenses of Philip le Bel, during a journey that he made in the year 1307, on a visit to Pope Clement V. A single leaf of this table book is exhibited in the *Manuscrits de diplomatique*, tom. i. p. 458.

MANUSCRIPTS.

Sc. 3. p. 45.

Ham. Jesus by my sword.

In consequence of the practice of occasionally ascending by a sword, or rather by the cross or upper end of it, the name of Jesus was sometimes inscribed on the handle or some other part. Such an instance occurs on the monument of a crusader in the vestry of the church at Winchester. See likewise the tomb of John Duke of Somerset engraved in Sandford's *Genealogical History*, p. 314, and Gough's *Diplomatical monuments*, Perf. cr ss. Inscr. eccl s. vol. i. p. 371, vol. 2. p. 352.

## ACT II.

Scene 2. Page 113.

Pol. Though this be madness, yet there's method in it.

This is precisely Horace's,

"*Insanis parat verba rationis analogis*."

Sc. 2. p. 111.

Ham. The clouds shall make these lungs whose lungs are  
told of the *ere*

*Ere* is dry. Thus in Macbeth,

"He is defuncted, crested, did and *ere*!"

Among the Saxons *Just* was called the *ere* man. In the present instance *ere* appears to be used as a substantive. The same expression occurs in Howard's *Defensives against the popes of supposed prophecies*, 1695, folio. "Discovering the moods and humors of the vulgar sort to be no less and riddle of the *ere*," *ibid.*, fo. 51. Every one has felt that dry tickling in the throat and lungs which excites coughing. Hamlet's meaning may therefore be, the *ere* by his servants shall convert *ere* their coughing *ere* laughter.

Sc. 2. p. 111.

Ham. *Ere, ere.*

Milichem says, "To *hure*, or *hure* as *hure*, *hure*, *hure*;" and again, in his Spanish dictionary, "when two standing or kneeling together, holding their hands upon their chests and *ere*, and so cry, *hure hure*, and kissing

cut another a good box on the ear, if he pull not his head away quickly." Selden in his *Tulæ* talk, speaking of witches, says, "If any should profess that by turning his hat thrice, and crying *hee*, he could take away a man's life, (though in truth he could do no such thing) yet this were a just law made by the state, that whoever should turn his hat thrice, and cry *hee*, with an intention to take away a man's life, shall be put to death." The expression has already exercised the skill of the critics, and may continue to do so, if they are disposed to pursue the game through the following mazes: "*Anno domini. Ludovicus Imperator ad mortem infirmatus, cupit esse per x. dies solenniter de dominica dominicanæ corporis fecti. Cum vidisset demoniacam naturæ, dixit hee, hee, quod significat *hee, hee*."* Alberti monachi viri fortissimi chronicon, Leipz. 1698. Doucens under the article *hee*, says, "*Interpretatur despectus vel contemptus. Popula. [Ab Hebraico *hee* vel *hee*, quæritur.]*"

Sec. 2. p. 135.

How Your ladyship is never to know, that when I  
saw you last, by the altitude of a eclipse.

In Raynold's *Peregrine through Italy*, 1648,

*Uomo*, a work which is said to have been partly written by Dr. Bargarve, prebendary of Canterbury, the following curious account of the chopine occurs. "This place [*Venice*] is much frequented by the walking may poles, I mean the women. They wear their coats half too long for their bodies, being mounted on their chopines, (which are as high as a man's leg) they walk between two handmaids, respectfully deliberating of every step they take. This fashion was invented and appropriated to the noble Venetian wives, to be constant to distinguish them from the commoners, who goe covered in a tale of white taffety."

Justice Howell, speaking of the Venetian women, says, "They are low and of small stature for the most part, which makes them to raise their bodies upon high shoes called chopins, which gave one occasion to say that the Venetian ladies were made of three things, one part of them was wood, meaning their chopins, another part was their apparel, and the third part was a woman. The Senate hath often endeavour'd to take away the wearing of these high shoes, but all women are so passionately delighted with this kind of state that no law can wrest them from it."

Some have supposed that the jealousy of Italian husbands gave rise to the invention of the chopin.

Lisapen de Saint Didier, a lively French writer on the republic of Venice, mentions a conversation with some of the doge's councillors of state on this subject, in which it was remarked that smaller shoes would certainly be found more convenient; which induced one of the councillors to say, putting on at the same time a very antique look, *par trappe commode, par trappe*. The first ladies who rejected the use of the chopine were the daughters of the Doge Dominico Contarini, about the year 1670. It was impossible to set one foot before the other without leaning on the shoulders of two waiting women, and those who used them must have stalked along like boys in skirts.

The chopine or some kind of high shoe was occasionally used in England. Balcan in his *Originals* (changeling, p. 285), complains of this fashion as a monstrous affectation, and says that his countrywomen therein imitated the Venetian and Persian ladies. In Sandys's travels, 1615, there is a figure of a Turkish lady with chopines; and it is not improbable that the Venetians might have borrowed them from the Greek islands in the Archipelago. We know that something similar was in use among the ancient Greeks. Xenophon in his *memorabilia*, introduces the wife

of Ischomachus, as having high shoes for the purpose of increasing her stature. They are still worn by the women in many parts of Turkey, but more particularly at Aleppo. As the figure of an object is often better than twenty pages of description, one is here given from a real Venetian shopier.





Sc. 2. p. 135.

Now, may God, your coin, like a piece of uncurrent gold, be not crack'd within the ring.

It is to be observed, that there was a ring or circle on the coin, within which the sovereign's head was placed; if the crack extended from the edge beyond this ring, the coin was rendered unfit for currency. Such pieces were boarded by the mowers of the date, and lent out as lawful money. Of this we are informed by Roger Freman in his *Treatise of money*, 1611, too, p. 28. "A poore man desireth a goldsmith to lend him such a summe, but he is not able to pay him interest. If such as I can spare (with the goldsmith) will pleasure you, you shall have it for three or foure months. Now, hee hath a number of light, chapt, crackt pieces (for such he useth to take in change with consideration for their defects) this summe of money is repaid by the poore man at the time appointed in good and lawfull money. This is usuarie." And again, "It is a common custome of his [the usurer's] to buy up crackt angels at nine shillings the piece. Now sir, if a gentleman (on good assurance) request him of money, Good sir (saith hee,

with a counterfeit sigh) I would be glad to please your worship, but my good money is abroad, and that I have, I dare not put in your hands. . . . The gentleman, thinking this conscience, where it is subtilty, and being beside that in some necessity, ventures on the crackt engin, some of which cannot sin, for adding, and paine double interest to the miser under the cloake of honesty." Lodge's *Wit's maner*, 1576, 4to, p. 28. So much for the cracked gold. The cracking of the human voice proceeded from some striction in the larynx which is here compared to a ring.

As metaphors are sometimes double, the present may be of that kind. A piece of cracked metal is spoiled for the ringing of it; so the human voice, when cracked, may be said to lose the clearness of its tone. All Mr. Snowdon's quotations, except the last, are obscure, and none of them apply to Hamlet's mind.

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Sc. 2. p. 137. "

That 'twere better to the ground.

This word has been frequently mispronounced *cureur* on the stage. The other mode of spelling it in Mr. Reed's note, viz. *cureury*, as well as the Latin term in the text, which should rather

be correct, would have been sufficient for the purpose of demonstrating how it should be corrected; but the following line from Sir J. Harrington's 33d epigram of the third book leaves no uncertainty in the matter :

" And distilled, but a little deeper."

Dr. Ramsey, physician to King Charles the Second, wrote a curious treatise on the worms of the human body, in which he says, "Cariale also is a food dish of the Italians, made of the roes of eunghen, and altogether so unwholesome, if not much worse; invented by idle brains, and flander'd by rascals but such as are ignorant what it is; wherefore I would have them consider the Italian proverb,

*Chi mangia di Cariale,  
Manga carale, carale, & carale.*

Which may be Englished thus,

*He that eats Cariale,  
Eats carle, carle, and carle.*

For it is only (as was said) the roes of eunghen powdered, pickled, and finely discriminated Cariale, to be a bait for such woodcocks and dunces that account every extract finite a real good." This commodity is still common in the North of

Europe, and was formerly a considerable article of commerce between England and Russia.

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Sc. II. p. 146.

1. FLAV. Would have made milk the burning eyes of  
Isacco.

i. e. would have drawn tears from them. *Mishle decocted*, in Hales's *Alphabetum*, 1672, is rendered *lactans*, and in *Bibliotheca Elster*, 1844, we find "*lactans*, they that weep lightly." The word is from the Sanscrit *malak*, milky.

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# ACT III.

Scene 1. Page 156.

FLAV. ——— To die, — to sleep,—  
No more; ———

There is a good deal on this subject in Cardan's *Complice*, 1576, 4to, a book which Shakespeare had certainly read. In fo. 80, it is said, "In the holy scripture, death is not accompanied other than sleape, and to dye is sayde to sleape."

## SC. I. p. 162.

Ham. The unhallowed country, from whose womb  
No traveller returns.

The resemblance of this passage to the lines cited by Mr. Stevens from *Canidia* is very remarkable, yet no translation of that author into English is known to have been made. It is true, they might have occurred to our poet in his native language through the medium of some quotation; yet it is equally possible that both the writers have casually adopted the same sentiment. This is a circumstance that more frequently happens than they are aware of who hunt after imitations even in writers of the most original genius. Many of Shakespeare's commentators might seem to be influenced in this charge, if it were not that they have rather designed to mark coincidence than imitation. On the present occasion our author alludes to a country altogether unknown to mortals. That of the Pagan poet is happily illustrated by Seneca, who cites the lines from *Canidia*, when he causes Mercury to drag the emperor Claudius into the infernal regions. "*Nec mora, Cyllenius istum collo oborto trahit ad hyfros.*" *Lael. de morte Claudii.*

Dekker, in his *Seven deadlie sinnes of London*, 1606, 4to, apostrophizing that city, exclaims,

"Art thou now not cruel against thyself, in not providing (before the hand-masters of affliction come down again upon thee) more and more convenient cabins to lay thee in, that are to give thee such farre countries, who never look to come back againe? If thou should'st deny it, the graves when they open, will be witnesses against thee."

In the *History of Palmerine and Orson*, p. 68, edit. 1684, &c., is this passage; "I shall send some of you here pastime into such a country, that you shall scarcely ever return againe in bring tydings of your valour." As Watson, the translator of this romance, translated also *The Ship of Fools* into prose, which was printed by Wynkyn de Worde, it is probable that there was an edition of *Palmerine and Orson* in Shakspeare's time, though none such is supposed now to remain. Perhaps the oldest we know of is that of 1640, printed by Robert Ibbema. In 1706, *The old book of Palmerine and Orson* was licensed to T. Purfoot.

SC. I. p. 165.

HAM. I have heard of your friendships too, well enough; God hath given you one flesh, and you make yourselves another; you jig, you make, and you say and swear that God's enemies, and make your weakness your ignorance.

The folio reads *prattling*, and *poore*; the quarto as in the text, which Dr. Johnson thinks best, though he admits that Shakspeare might have written both. Other very good reasons have been given for preferring the present reading; yet whoever will reflect on the typographical errors for which the quarto plays of Shakspeare are remarkable, may be disposed to think that the folio editors had good reason for their variation. Our author's bible might have, as in many other instances, have furnished his materials. "Moreover thus saith the Lord: saying the daughters of Zion are become as proud, and come in with stretched out neckes, and with vaine minion; saying aspage they come in-tippynge so nicely with their face; therefore, &c." *Jer.* ch. lii. ver. 16. It has not been observed that *top* seems to refer to *prattling*, as *jug* and *ambie* do to *poore*.

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Sc. 5. p. 175.

*Hic.* — *It was her selfe Hic.*

The violence of *Hic* in the old editions has been already exemplified by some extracts from the *Cheney* and *Country* plays. One of the latter, of which some account has been given in the preceding paper, may only be said on the

present occasion to completely outdo the others. It enables the fury of the monarch to be much advantage, that every zealous amateur of theatrical manners must be furnished with the following extracts.

His majesty's entrance is announced by a herald in the slow French jargon that can be conceived. He commences by imposing silence on the part of the spectators, and ends with sending them all to the devil. "*Le grand d'abord vous import.*" He then makes a speech, which begins in bad Latin, and thus proceeds:

" [I am] the supplest companion that ever walked on ground,

For I am very be that made bodies heavy and tall,  
And of my beggar power buildeth up the world anew,  
Alas! and Alas! the bodies that I would make,  
And as the beggar builds a stone house, I look on matter,  
That all the world builds on these supple† did wonder,  
I am the cause of this great light and shadow,  
To go through my face; then they come upon darkness,  
My beggarly companion the clouds as dark number,  
That afterwards drive them the narrow path dark quite  
Like when I with matter this beggar buildeth dark,  
All the whole world from the north to the south,  
I am then dyestuff with woe words of my mouth.

\* is and.

† they

‡ sup, blow

§ sup.

¶ fury.

¶ nation.



To convert into you my livermore'shell substance,  
 That were to meeter for my long to tell ;  
 For all the whole world <sup>is</sup> your under my obsequence,  
 And you are I of pilgrims and chief capon of hell ,  
 And then oportunes they can be done and I compell  
 Myse escape to requiese, and you to damn these dayes,  
 And make a crystal of my eye not man to be left dayes,  
 Behold my continuance and my toiler,  
 Brighter than the sun in the middle of the day,  
 Whose eye you have a more greater matter  
 Than to behold my person, that you are gay ?  
 My flower ; and my flower with my gay ; escape !  
 He that had the grace away there to thyke,  
 Lyes the night away without other escape or dryke ;  
 And says my repentance first most by his death shewke  
 Though not the world in all my presence shew,  
 Repenting the flower of the most night Mollend,  
 From Adyke he devent ; and says to the great God,  
 And says the most mychewdly King Ryndle,  
 Wyche that all myse hath under my presence,  
 And all their whole power under my presence,  
 And therefore my heart <sup>is</sup> , from all the Gales,  
 Whose these myse parts that are myse myse,  
 Not the world <sup>is</sup> stronger through my toiler you,  
 But the for these things do you make you.  
 Now says the for the world,  
 For the that will the matter,  
 Upon a golden heart what be,  
 And be Mollend of me they get me grace."

<sup>a</sup> what.      § blood, or perhaps fishbone      § myse,  
 § I am deceived      § converted.      ¶ heart.      \*\* all.

When he hears of the flight of the messengers,  
he exclaims—

" I charge, I curse, I take all oaths,  
Might I then take I should then have at a place\*,  
I run, I run; and now I am with y,  
A that thou wilt try to be sure that my mode  
The will be long of I am with them in."

The stage direction is, "Here Erude says in  
the pyramid and in the street also." He concludes  
with his knights on putting the children to death;  
and on their descending him from it as likely to  
cause an insurrection, he says—

" A crying, out, out, out."

" Then Erude says again and then says that"

" Get with my eyes but apart, you I say,  
My will surely like that y, be with y,  
On your yellow face but you shall say  
Be with my eyes but apart that you shall say."

At length the knights consent to slay the children,  
and Erude says;

" And then will I be with you like a dog."

The bodies of the children are brought to him

\* just as he said.                      y now                      y with  
y that you, or perhaps that!

in carts; but he is told that all his deeds are come to nothing, as the child whom he particularly sought after had escaped into Egypt. He soon more falls into a violent passion, orders his palfrey to be saddled, and hurries away in pursuit of the infant. Here the piece ends. It was performed by the trypers and drummen in the year 1634; but the composition is of much greater antiquity.

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Sc. 2. p. 178.

Ham. ————— Give me that man

That will put poison to silence, and I will wear him.

In my heart's core, ay in my heart of hearts.

From this speech Anthony Scobler, in his *Dolphinar, or The passions of love*, 1604, 4to, has stolen the following line,

"Oh, I would wear her in my heart's-heart-core."

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Sc. 2. p. 179.

Ham. It is a damned ghost that we have seen,

I.e. the ghost of a person sentenced for his wickedness to damnation, and which has in this instance deceived us. Thus Spenser,

"What voice of damned ghost from Londo hies

Or faithful spirit wand'ring in empty ayre,

Sends us up dreadful news these speeches meet?"

*Fairy Queen*, book 1. canto 2, st. 22.

"He shew'd him painted on a white plain  
The diamond place——"

"His diamond place laid up with night's spoils!"

*Epithetum, vi. 19.*

Sc. II. p. 152.

Ham. Lady, shall I lie in your lap?

*[Lying down at Ophelia's feet.]*

Mr. Strevens has noticed the practice of lying at the foot of a mistress during dramatic representations; yet we are not to conclude that it prevailed at the public theatre. The instances which have occurred seem to be confined to entertainments at the houses of the nobility and gentry. These were plays, masques, masquerades, balls, concerts, &c. Many old pictures and engravings furnish examples of the above custom, the young man being often seen sitting or lying on the ground in conversation with their mistress, and sometimes in Hamlet's situation. One of these shall be described more particularly. It is an extremely rare fine print, belonging to a set designed to contrast the sufferings of Christ with the vanities of the world. The scene is a ball-room. In the back-ground are the musicians and watchmen. In front a lady and gentleman are performing a dance before some standing spectators. In various parts of the room pairs of young

gallants and their mistresses are seated on the floor, apparently more attentive to their own concerns than to the dancing; and one youth is sitting on the spread petticoat of his companion. The costume is French, and of the time of Louis the Thirteenth.

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Sc. 2. p. 196.

Ham. With two provincial roses on my steel stem.

The old copies read *provincial*, which led Mr. Warton to ask, why provincial roses? and to conclude that roses of *Provence* were meant, on which conclusion the text has been more unnecessarily changed; because the old reading was certainly correct. There is no evidence to show that *Provence* was ever remarkable for its roses; but it is well known that *Provins*, in *Le Basse Eire*, about forty miles from Paris, was formerly very celebrated for the growth of the *Rose*, of which the best camphours are said to have been made. It was, according to tradition, imported into that country from Syria, by a count De Eire. See Gallienus's *Histoire naturelle de la rose*. It is probable that this kind of rose, which in our old herbals is called the Great Holland or *Provence* rose, was imported into this

country both from Holland and France, from which latter country the Dutch might have first procured it. There is an elegant cut of the *Proxima roos*, with a good account of it, in the first edition of *Poëseet Hist. der dierges.*, 1694, folio, p. 174.

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Sc. 2. p. 203.

Ham. A very, very, — *penock*.

The word that was in the original of Hamlet's quotation would have been too coarse to be applied to royalty; and therefore he substituted another, which there is good reason to suppose was *penock*. Dr. Farmer has given proof that this term was proverbial for a fool. Reginald Scott, speaking of Pope Julius the Third, says that he blasphemed Christ, and cursed his mother for a *penock*. *Disc. of antichrist*, b. 2, ch. viii. The bird in question is at once proud and silly.

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Sc. 2. p. 205.

Enter the players with *revels*.

"L. c." says Mr. Stevens, "a kind of large flute." Yet the former note, to which he refers,

vol. v. p. 169, describes the instrument as a small flute. Sir J. Hawkins, in vol. iv. p. 478, of his valuable History of music, has offered very good proofs that the recorder was a *flageolet*, and he maintains that the flute was improperly termed a recorder, and that the expressions have been confounded: yet his opinion that the books of instructions entitled 'for the recorder' belong in reality to the flute, seems rather doubtful. The confusion is in having blended the genus with the species. In the *Promptorium parvulorum*, 1516, 4to, a recorder is defined to be a "lytell pipe." In *Udal's flowers for Lucie* spelling selected out of Terence, 1555, 16ma, the line from Virgil's *Bucolics*,

"*Non te precor, culmen ut ipse bibulam,*"

is rendered, "and thyke it not a smalle thyng to have lerned to playe on the pipe or the recorder;" and it is not a little curious that in modern usage language the recorders of corporations are termed *flutes*. The following story in *Mirris and Jewrye*, 1585, 4to, shows that the pipe and recorder were different; such is the uncertainty of definition among old writers: "A merrie recorder of London mistaking the name of one Pepper, call'd him Piper: wherunto the party answering, and

saying: *Sic*, you mistake, my name is *Pepper*, not *Piper*: has answered: Why, what difference is there (I pray thee) between *Piper* in Latin, and *Pepper* in English; is it not all one? No, sir (reply'd the other) there is even as much difference between them, as is between a *Piper* and a *Recorder*."

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Sc. 2. p. 207.

Ham. Do you think I am easier to be play'd on than a pipe?  
 Call me what instrument you will, though you  
 can fret me, you cannot play upon me.

A *fret* is the strap or key of a musical instrument, and consequently here is a *play* on words, and a double meaning. Hamlet says, though you can fret me, you cannot *pipe* on me; though you can stop the instrument, you cannot *play* on it.

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Sc. 2. p. 216.

Ham. — that his soul may be condemn'd and black  
 As hell, whereto it goes

To the stories collected in the notes that illustrate Hamlet's shocking design of killing the king at his prayers, may be added one in Homer's *Parley of the Iliads*, p. 84, and another related in Chaucer's *Historical collection*, p. 77.



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 Sc. 4. p. 151.

Ham. — *a vice of kings.*

"*A low stick of kings.* The vice is the fool of a *fovee*, from whence the modern punch is descended." Thus for Dr. Johnson. The first position in his note is questionable, the others erroneous. The vice belonged to the old morality, and the modern *Punch* is most certainly not descended from him, but legitimately from a character well known in the theatres of ancient Rome. We have borrowed him from the Italian *Polichinello*. With respect to the former part of the note, Hamlet's expression may be quite literal. Thus in *King Henry the Fifth*, we have "*this game of kings.*" Afterwards indeed, Shakespeare, in his usual manner, recollecting the ambiguity of the term, takes up another sense, and makes Hamlet call his uncle a *king of beasts and fowls*. See a former note in vol. i. p. 467.

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## ACT IV.

## Scene 2. Page 148.

Ham. The body is with the king, but the king's not with the body.

Hamlet's dilemma seems still unresolved. Can

this be its meaning? Instead of giving a direct answer to the inquiry after the body of Polonius, he seizes the opportunity of venting his sarcasm against the king, by saying that the body, i. e. the external appearance or person of the monarch, is with his uncle, but that the real and lawful king is not in that body.

Sc. 5. p. 337.

Osw. To his grave Polonius.

The custom of choosing *Valentines* is of very long standing, and, like many others of a popular nature, is no more than a corruption of something similar that had prevailed in the times of paganism. It was the practice in ancient Rome, during a great part of the month of February, to celebrate the *Lupercalia*, which were feasts in honour of Pan and Juno, whether the latter deity was named *Jehuvate*, *Jehuvite*, and *Jehuvile*. On this occasion, amidst a variety of ceremonies, the names of young women were put into a box, from which they were drawn by the men in chance directed. The pastors of the early Christian church, who by every possible means endeavoured to eradicate the vestiges of Pagan superstitions, and chiefly by some combination of

their names, substituted, in the present instance, the names of particular saints instead of those of the women : and as the festival of the *Lupercales* had commenced about the middle of February, they appear to have chosen Saint Valentine's day for celebrating the new feast; because it occurred nearly at the same time. This is, in part, the opinion of a learned and rational compiler of the lives of the saints, the Reverend Alban Butler. It should seem, however, that it was utterly impossible to extinguish altogether any ceremony to which the common people had been much accustomed; a fact which it were easy to prove in tracing the origin of various other popular superstitions: and accordingly the custom of the ancient ceremonies was preserved, but modified by some adaptation to the Christian system. It is reasonable to suppose that the above practice of choosing mates would gradually become reciprocal in the sexes; and that all persons so chosen would be called *Valentines*, from the day on which the ceremony took place. There is another opinion as to the origin of choosing *Valentines*, which has been formed on a tradition among the common people, that at the above season of the year birds choose their mates, a circumstance that is frequently alluded to by poets, and particularly

by Chaucer; yet this seems to be a mere poetical idea, borrowed in all probability from the practice in question. Again, it has been supposed that the custom originated in the following manner. During carnival time, which usually happens about Saint Valentine's day, great numbers of knights assembled together in the various courts of Europe to entertain the ladies with feasts and tournaments, when each lady made choice of a knight who usually entered in her service for a whole year, during which period he bound himself to perform, at the instance of his mistress, whatever was consistent with propriety. One employment was the writing verses full of tenderness, not that it was requisite for the heart to be at all concerned in the matter. A lady's reflection, however, may serve to show that even this practice is only derivative from the older one.

It is presumed that the earliest specimens remaining of poetical *Palmiers* are those preserved in the works of Charles duke of Orleans, a prince of high accomplishments, and the father of Louis the Twelfth of France. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Agincourt, and remained a captive in this country twenty-five years, during which time he wrote several thousand lines of

poetry, a few of them in English. Many of these poems are written on Saint Valentine's day, and in some of them his mistress is called his *Valentine*. In the Royal library of manuscripts, now in the British museum, there is a magnificent volume containing probably all that the duke wrote whilst in England. It belonged to king Henry the Seventh, for whom it has been copied from some older manuscript, and is beautifully illuminated. In one of the paintings the duke is represented in the White tower sitting at a writing-table, with guards attending him. In another part of it he is looking out of a window; and in a third he is going out of the tower to meet some person who has just fled from his home. At a distance is London bridge with the houses on it, and the curious chapel, all very distinct, and probably faithful copies. Besides the above work, this fine manuscript contains some compositions by the celebrated Elton, and other matters of less consequence.

In one of the duke's poems, he feigns that on Saint Valentine's day *Truth* appears to him with an invitation to the temple of love. On the same day he devotes himself to the service of several ladies, according to what he states to have been

the custom in England. The following extracts from some of his poems are given, as containing allusions to the subject immediately before us.

" A ce jour de Saint Valentin  
 Que chacun doit choisir son par,  
 Amour le commande je ne par  
 Sans parler à votre honneur  
 A son service en vain  
 Je n'y ay rien de pouvoir  
 A ce jour de saint Valentin."

It appears from the following songs, that when Ash Wednesday happened to fall on Saint Valentine's day, the knights and their ladies assembled only in the afternoon, the morning being necessarily devoted to pious purposes.

" Si saint Valentin quest votre vœu  
 En romance ou courtoisie,  
 En ce ne sera vapoureux  
 Avec que nous nous en va  
 Saint Valentin de, vers me va,  
 Et apporte pour à chaper:  
 Vierge qui y devra venir,  
 C'est la courtoisie de parer  
 Quand le jour des veilles, l'adieu  
 Enquies, quel doit on faire?  
 Saint Valentin de, vers me va,  
 Et apporte pour à chaper."

Au fort en action couronnée  
 En devotions en tresser,  
 En apers d'amer à l'esper,  
 Chacun qui choisir voudra,  
 Sans Falsité de, sans me ce  
 Et apers par à choquer.<sup>1</sup>

Another French *Féteuse*, composed by John Gower, is quoted by Mr. Warton in his *History of English poetry*, add. to vol. II. p. 71, from a manuscript in the library of Lord Gower. In this the poet tells his mistress that in choosing her he had followed the example of the birds.

Madame Roysse, the daughter of Henry the Fourth of France, built a palace near Tours which was called the *Féteuse*, on account of the great veneration in which the saint was held in that country. At the first entertainment given there by the princess, who was naturally of a gallant disposition, she directed that the ladies should choose their lovers for the year by lot. The only difference with respect to herself was, that she should be at liberty to fix on her own partner. At every ball during the year each lady received from her gallant a sovereignty; and at every tournament the lady furnished his horse's trappings, the prize obtained being hers. From this circumstance Monsieur Menage, to whom we are

indebted for the above information, infer that in Piedmont, the parties were called *Falentin*; but the learned writer was not aware of the circumstances already stated, nor of the antiquity of the custom in his own country. See *Ménage Duet, Symphonique, air, Falentin*.

In an old English ballad the lines are directed to pray cross-legged to Saint *Falentine*, for good luck. For the modern ceremonies on choosing *Falentina*, the reader may consult Brand's *Popular antiquities*, and No. 26 of *The connoisseur*.

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See S. p. 255.

Ors. Let in the road, that not a word,  
Never departed moon.

In an Album that belonged in 1855 to a Dutch lady named Theodora Van Wamster, there is the following pretty French ballad addressed to her. The conclusion resembles the above lines in Ophelia's song.

“ *Au jardin de mon père*  
*Un danger il y a,*  
*Qui est le danger d'écouter*  
*Le crayon d'un romanesque.*  
*Nigouet tout je suis sçavoir,*  
*Mais vous ne m'écoutez pas.*



Elle demande à son père  
Quand on la croquera,  
Ma fille, ma fille,  
Quand la reine viendra,  
Mignonne, etc.

La reine est venue  
Le confesseur avec-qui ?  
Elle prend son confesseur,  
Un prêtre bien bon.  
Mignonne, etc.

Elle rendra les plus vœux,  
Les vœux elle y fait ;  
Elle les doit porter toutes  
Au monastère de Daman.  
Mignonne, etc.

En son chemin rencontrant  
Le fils d'un seigneur ;  
Ses parents sont la belle  
Dans un palais seigneur.  
Mignonne, etc.

Monsieur ne voit pas d'argent  
Ne voit pas d'argent ;  
Il en prend un couple,  
Dans son coin il les met.  
Mignonne, etc.

Tout va bien en la belle,  
On voit les parents ;  
Elle y aura jalousie  
Quand on s'en va.

Mignonne tout le monde aime,  
Mais vous ne m'aimez pas."

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Sc. 2. p. 165.

Ore. By Ols, and by Saint Charls.

The frequent occurrence of this adjuration sufficiently proves that Dr. Johnson's proposed change to *Ois*, is unnecessary; nor indeed would the name of Saint Cecilia be proper to swear by. Mr. Ritson's *Golsen*, an obscure Irish saint, is equally out of the question. In the interlude of *Mary Magdalene*, she is made to say,

" Nay by Ols, weede doings I dare bolla  
 That there is not a goodman in this land  
 More proper than I in the weie, I dare be bolle."

In *Proton* and *Camden*, *Dalla* means by *Gyr*; and in *Gammer Gerten's* strife and some other old plays, the same expression occurs. Mr. Kilday's conjecture that *Jesse* is the corrupted word is the true one; but the corruption is not in the way that he has stated. The letters *HS* would not be pronounced *Gis*, even by those who understood them as a Greek contraction.

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## ACT V.

Scene 1. Page 197.

3. *CLD.* — therefore make her prove wrong.

Dr. Johnson thought this meant "from East

to West, in a direct line parallel to the church; not from North to South, against the regular line." The frequency of the above mode of expression in Shakspeare's plays sufficiently indicates that if he had alluded to the mode of burial contended for by Dr. Johnson, he would have adopted some other. It has occurred upwards of a hundred times already in the sense of *evenly-shorn*. Nor would it be easy to show that to make a grave straight, or in a direct line, was to make it East and West; or that it was the designation of Christian burial. The first clause rather adverts to the place where the grave should be made than to its form. Scolders were buried on the North side of the church, in ground purposely unconsecrated.

Much of this scene has been imitated in the *Falstaff Widdowes*, by R. A. [i. e. Robert Armin] 1663. See Act iv.

SCENE II.

Sc. 1. p. 970.

3. GOS. If this had not been a gentlewoman, she should have been bury'd out of Christian burial.

We have here a manifest satire on the partial ven-

dies of coroners' juries, where the suicide has been above the common condition of life. Judge Blackstone has hinted at them in his *Commentaries*. Nothing, however, but the publicity is reprehensible; the rest is an amiable tenderness towards the living, calculated to rob a law that justly deserves to be abhorred for a savage and impotent revenge so far as it regards the dead.

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Sc. 1. p. 279.

1. *Clm. Come; my spade*—There was no second gentleman but gentlemen, ditchers and grave-makers; they hold my father's possession.

2. *Clm.* Was he a gentleman?

1. *Clm.* He was the first that ever here came.

This is undoubtedly in ridicule of heraldry. Gerard Leigh, one of the oldest writers on that subject, speaks of "Jesus Christ, a gentleman of great lineage, and king of the Jews." And again, "For that it might be known that even from after the creation of Adam, there was both gentleness, and ungentleness, you shall understand that the second man that was born was a gentleman, whose name was Abel. I say a gentleman both of wit and of lineage, with whose sacrifice God was much pleased. His brother Cain was un-

*grows*, for he offered God the worst of his fruits," &c. *Accidence of arms*, 1581, 8vo, fo. 15. Another moral of satire against the above science lurks in the very ancient proverbial saying:

"When Adam delv'd and Eve span,  
 Where was then the gentleman?"

which is found in almost every European language. It was the text on which the rebel priest John Ball perched his sermon during the insurrection of Wat Tyler. Although the first clause afterwards explains why Adam bore arms, by means of a punning allusion to his digging with arms, there is still a concealed piece of wit with respect to the spade. Adam's spade is set down in some of the books of heraldry as the most ancient form of escutcheon; nor is it improbable that the lower part of this emblem suggested the well known form of the old triangular shield; whilst from the spindle of Eve might have originated the lozenge-like escutcheon on which the arms of females are usually emblazoned.

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Sc. I. p. 509.

Ham. — The up is *grown* or *picked*, that the use of the present, &c.

Mr. Malone's note, in exclusion of the others,

is sufficiently satisfactory. The fashion of wearing pointed shoes, to which Hamlet had been supposed to allude, had ceased long before the time of Shakespeare; nor is it probable that he would have transferred it to the age of Hamlet. We still say a person travels close on the heels of another, in the same signification as in the text.

Sc. I. p. 310.

1. *Can. This same wall, sir, was Tivoli's wall, the long + prison.*

The frequency of such names as *Eric* and *Roric* in the Danish history, might have suggested that of the prisoner in question, but in a manner that may not very easily be discovered. *Roric* was the name of the king of Denmark contemporary with Hamlet, according to *Saxo Grammaticus*.

Sc. I. p. 311.

*Ham.* Now get you to sup lady + chamber, and tell her, let her paint an inch thick, to this favour she must come; make her laugh at that —

There is good reason for supposing that Shakespeare borrowed this thought from some print or picture that he had seen. There are several

which represent a lady at her toilet, and an old man presenting a skull before the mirror. A print by Goussier exhibits *Flavia* as a lady sitting in her chamber with jewels, &c. before her, and surprised by the appearance of Death. In one of Henry the Eighth's wardrobe accounts, a picture at Westminster is thus described: "Item a table with the picture of a woman playing upon a lute, and an old manne holding a glass in sh'one hande and a deade mannes head in sh'other hande." Harl. MS. No. 1418.

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In a poem written by Anthony Boncher, a painter, entitled *Deiphobus, or The passions of love, contrast to reason, her tragical to act, as full of wit, as experience*, 1604, 4to, and recently quoted in p. 285, there are the following allusions to the play of *Hamlet*. In a quaint dedication he says, "It [the epistle] should be like the never-too-well read *Arctica*, where the frost and snow (morrow and words) are like his measureless eyes, one still exceeding another and without Control: or to come home to the vulgar element, like *friendly Shakspeare's* tragedies, where the comedies ride, when the tragedies stand as opeas: *Fast it should prove all, like*

praise Himself. That in sadness, then it were  
to be feared *he would* rather mad. In sooth I  
will not be macconickes, to please : nor out of my  
wits though I displeased all.”

- “ His touch he thinks the snake ; his tongue a cube,  
Then calls for herall six ; to speak her thine.  
Rise to his lake pot, drink, then steps the hole,  
And then grows madder, than he was at first,  
Then he dials, by that of Florida, thirde,  
Thence him a mad-man, then of his inkhorn drake.  
“ Call players fute, the hole he pitheth want,  
Wit leave them none, out of Chaucer Parier  
Fumes of their poets howles even as the highest,  
They deliver a hole, and answer it is no choler,  
Put off his choler ; he that he only wits,  
Much like mad-Humble, then as patient learn.”





# OTHELLO.

## ACT I.

### Scene II. Page 144.

Oth. Whence of answer cast and answer life.

Dr. Johnson has very properly taken notice of Mr. Pope's inadvertency in substituting *wild* for *life*; but whether he is strictly right in regarding this word as "poetically beautiful," according to Shakspeare's use of it, may admit of some doubt. Perhaps in a modern writer it would be poetical, where designed to express infertility. It may be worth while to examine how it was originally used.

In *Ælfric's* version of Genesis, ch. i. ver. 1, the *terra et vena* of the Vulgate is rendered *god 7 æntry*. Now it is conceived that *æntry* never signified *infertile*, but *wild*, *unproductive*; and such appears to be the meaning of *life*. In two or three of the early Latin and English dictionaries, *æntry* is rendered *life*; and in this sense

the latter word is used by Shakspeare in *Richard the third*, Act iii. :

"Tis not that idle words were first in growth."

It is clear that in the last instance idleness is out of the question; but *useless* and *unprofitable* well denote the poet's meaning, or rather that of the inventor of the proverb, which was afterwards corrupted into "*ill words*," &c.

It is conceived therefore that Dr. Johnson is not accurate in his opinion, that *idle* in the before-cited Saxon translation is an epithet expressive of the idleness of the chaotic state. Wicliffe has not adopted this term; he has preferred *veit* : but in the first page of the English Golden Legend, which contains a part of the first chapter of Genesis, we have—"the *veit* was yelle and vopde." Here Caxton the translator must have followed the *Poligote*, corroborating what is already stated on the construction of *idle*. The learned reader will not want to be informed why this term could not occur in any of the subsequent English versions of the Bible.

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So. B. p. 447.

Lat. — *the first that was born was as useless as locusts,*  
*shall be as less shortly as bitter as colophasis.*

There is another phrase of this kind, viz. *to*

exchange *Saint John* for *coliquida*. It is used in Osborn's *Annals of James I.*, and elsewhere. The pedantic Tomkinson, in his translation of Renedran's *Dispensary*, says, that many superstitious persons call magwort *Saint John's herb*, "wherewith he discouraged his layes on holidays," p. 317. Shakspeare, who was extremely well acquainted with popular superstitions, might have recollected this circumstance, when, for reasons best known to himself, he chose to vary the phrase by substituting the *detestable* leaves of the *Baptist*. Whether these were the fruit of the tree so called, or the well known insect, is not likely to be determined.

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### ACT III.

#### Scene 4. Page 351.

Des. ——— I had rather have lost my power  
Full of creature.

The following account of this Portuguese coin is presumed to be more correct than that already given. The *crusado* was not current, as it should seem, at Venice, though it certainly was in England in the time of Shakspeare, who has here

indulged his usual practice of departing from national customs. It was of gold, and weighed two penny-weights six grains, or nine shillings English. The following variation of it as to type, are given from an English almanac of the year 1686, whence also the weight has been taken. The sovereigns who struck this coin were James and his son John.



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See A. p. 558.

Oth. — The hands, of old, gave hands;

For our new handity a—hands, not hands.

There cannot be a doubt that the text is right, and that there is a punning allusion to the new handity of hands in the foregoing scene. The plain meaning is—formerly the hands gave away the hand in marriage; but now, as in the new handity, we have hands only: no ordaining nor officium. In *The tempest*, Ferdinand says to Miranda, "Here's my hand;" to which she answers, "And mine with my heart is it." In this latter instance, Shakespeare, not Miranda,

might recollect the general rings, some of which  
had engraven on them, a hand with a heart in it.

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ACT IV.

Scene 2. Page 601.

Oth. The heavy wind, that blows all o'ers now,

The same image occurs more delicately, but less strongly, in a beautiful "*Song to a forsaken mistress*," written by an anonymous author, about the time of Charles the First, and published in Playford's *Select ayres*, 1683, folio. As most persons of taste already possess the whole of it in Mr. Ellis's *Specimens of the early English poets*, it is unnecessary to give more in this place than the stanzas in which the above image occurs :

" I do confess that't were, yet find  
That such an affliction of thy sweeting  
Thy favours are but like the wind,  
Which blasts every thing it meets :  
And were there none, or as more than one,  
Th' art worthy to be lov'd by none."

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Sc. 2. p. 631.

Oth. Had all his loves been lives, my great attempts  
Had murther'd for them all.

The same sentiment occurs in the third part of *King Henry the Sixth*, where Clifford says,

"Had I thy brothers' lives, their lives, and thine,  
Were not revenge sufficient for me?"

Sc. 2. l. 655.

Oth. *After we sleep in white? and you in crimson?*

Again, in *Miserecord* for women,

"To be engraced in the various weeds,  
And bloom with softer colours round about  
The pendent world."

### THE CLOWN.

He appears but twice in the play, and was evidently intended to be an allowed or domestic fool in the service of Othello and Desdemona.



## ADDITIONS TO THE NOTES, &c.

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### VOL. I.

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#### Page 28.

THE name of the old ballad of *Green sleeves*, may be seen in Sir John Hawkins's *Hist. of music*, vol. v. Appendix, and is still used in The beggar's opera, in the song of "Since laws were made for every degree."

p. 84. Cupid's golden shaft is again mentioned in the *Alchymist* eighth's dream, Act I. Sc. 1.

"Hark. By his last arrow with the golden head."

p. 126. To the list of imitations &c. of the story of *Measure for measure*, add the novel of *Waldburgh and Bolanca*, in Reynolds's *God's revenge against calvary*. This is the substance of it. In the reign of Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden, Morali, a Danish general, in attacking the castle of Colman, was taken prisoner by the governor count Waldbourg. Bolanca,

the wife of Moroffi, obtained a promise from the count to liberate her husband on the terms of her submitting to his unlawful desires. The unfortunate woman was afterwards intimately presented with the head of her husband. When Cassius heard of the fact, he compelled the count to marry the injured lady, and then condemned him to death. Reynolds pretended that all his stories in this and his other once celebrated work, *God's revenge against murder*, were originals, and that he had collected the materials for them in the course of his travels.

p. 123. The recipe here given for making men seem like horses or asses, from Scot's *Discoverie of witchcraft*, where Skelopians might have seen it, is the real property of Baptista Porta, in the serious relation of whom the Jewish Kabbah has wasted too much time. See his treatise *De factis et uisibilibus*.

In the *Prodromus apologeticus abbat. Chiodorum* of Petrucci, there are similar receipts, and especially one in which an oil is directed to be made from the semen of a horse, which being used in a lamp, the company present will appear to have horses' heads. It is accompanied with a curious engraving of a Houghbourn party engaged in conversation, among whom there is the figure



of an *opus ageris*, that will not fail to make a due impression on such readers as are acquainted with the trick put by Mr. Spence, the author of *Polyæmia*, on Dr. Cooke the president of King's College Cambridge, a sour pedant who had offended him. See the tail-piece to the 17th dialogue in the first edition of the above work.

p. 122. The blessing of the bridal bed had doubtless, during the dark ages that preceded the promulgation of the gospel in many parts of Europe, been deemed the immediate office of priests and other supernatural beings. The object of it was to make the issue of the marriage happy, and to avert deformity. In this, as in numerous other instances, the priests felt themselves obliged, in their attempt to do away a Pagan superstition, which, as we see, continued notwithstanding to maintain its influence, to substitute some congenial ceremony that should console the deluded people; but their particular enmity to falch on the present occasion seems manifest in the passage cited from the Solitary manual, in the words "*ab omnibus fantasticis deorum libationibus;*" unless they should be thought rather to allude to the subject which is particularly noticed in the subsequent remarks on the right-spells.

The above ceremony is thus mentioned by Chaucer in his description of the marriage of January and May :

" The bode is brought a bed as red as rose,  
And when the bed was with the priest ythowd,  
Out of the chamber both wyng wyght here drowd,"  
*Merchant's tale*, v. 2691.

On the evidence relating to the consummation of the marriage between prince Arthur and the lady Catherine, Robert Vicount Fitzwarer deposed that " the prince was then about fifteen, and queen Katherine older, and that the next day after being in bed together (which he remembered after they entered to have been solemnly married), he waited at breakfast on prince Arthur, &c." *Lord Herbert's Life of Henry the Eighth*, p. 248. It is said that some vestiges of this custom still remain among the Presbyterians in Scotland.

p. 276. There is a story of two cuckolds, &c., in *Morall excellence*, nov. 3.

Quære if the general construction of all these stories have not been borrowed from the tale related to have been put by Prometheus on Jupiter with the two bull skins filled with flesh and bones?

p. 280, (new). Dr. Taylor, in his treatise *De rege delictis in pariter discedendo*, has offered

some strong arguments against the supposed mutilation of the debtor's body, and endeavoured to show that the law in question demanded nothing more than that the produce of his servitude should be divided among the creditors. Yet Aulus Gellius was of a different opinion. At a very early period, among the Jews, the creditor had a right to make a slave of the debtor. See 2 Kings, chap. ix. ver. 1.

p. 501. To the explanation of *area*, add that in the early editions of the dictionary of Coles and Litcher the word is printed *area*.

p. 548. Morgan the herald must be acquitted of having conveyed to us the original information that "Jesus Christ was a gentleman and bore area." He was indebted for it to Dame Julian Barners, who, in her treatise on coat armour, speaks of "the gentry Jesus," and states that "Crist [was] a gentryman of his mother's behalf and bare coat armour." She also tells us, that "Cain became a churl from the curse of God, and Seth a gentleman through his father and mother's blessing." So that we find J. C. was not the first gentleman.

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 VOL. II.
 

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## Page 9.

IN further confirmation of the opinion here expressed, the curious reader is referred to Whist de Colombiere's *Fiap d'honneur d'honneur*, vol. ii. p. 218, for the account of a duel on appeal for murder which was fought at Valenciennes in the year 1454, where the dead body of the vanquished party was adjudged to be hanged on a gallows as a convicted murderer.

The frequent use which has been made in the course of these remarks of a work cited under the title of *Bartholomæus de proprietatibus rerum*, may require that a more particular description of it should be given. It is a general history of nature, composed in Latin by Bartholomæus Glanville, an English Minorite or Franciscan, of the family of the earls of Suffolk. He flourished about the year 1580, and appears to have been the Pilny of his time. It was several times printed abroad in the infancy of the typographic art, and translated into the English, French, Dutch, and

Spanish language. The English version was made by John Trevisa, a Cornish man, and vicar of Baskley in Gloucestershire, at the request of his patron Thomas Lord Berkeley, in the year 1398, and originally printed by Wynkyn de Worde; for there is no evidence that it came from Caxton's press in English, though it has been so asserted. Neither is the date of Wynkyn de Worde's edition, if it ever had any, been ascertained. The next edition was printed in 1535, by Thomas Bartholome, in folio. The last was published under the title of *Itinerary upon Bartholome*, his *Booke de proprietatibus rerum*, &c. Printed by Thomas East, 1562, in folio. Stephen Barman appears to have been a worthy and pious character, and was chaplain to lord Hunsdon. His additions were compiled from Geener and other writers of his own time. In a manuscript diary of expenses in the reign of Elizabeth, the price of this book is stated to have been eight shillings.





THE ANACHRONISMS  
AND  
SOME OTHER INCONGRUITIES  
OF  
SHAKSPEARE.

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THE transgressions against the rules of chronology committed by those who, in recording the events of preceding ages, introduce matters which have originated in subsequent periods, seem almost exclusively to belong to authors whose works, in point of date, are to be separated from those admirable compositions which are usually styled the Classics. In the latter such instances seldom, if ever, occur; whilst in the writers as well as the artists of the middle ages they are innumerable. Nor do these absurdities diminish as we approach periods more enlightened as to general science. From the time of Chaucer to that of Shakspeare, there is scarcely an author to be found who is not implicated in this accusation; and about the age of Elizabeth, the dramatists

in particular seem to have been remarkably insensitive to the notions of time and place. It has been observed that Ben Jonson is almost the only writer against whom the charge of 'mixing dissimilar manners and discordant periods' is not to be laid; and though the poets of the ensuing century are not wholly free from the imputation in question, it is certain that from about the reign of King James the First more care was taken to preserve a due attention to the manners and customs of particular ages, or at least to avoid any very palpable anachronisms, than had already been done. But whilst the compositions of dramatic writers remained pretty free from these blemishes, the directors of the theatre continued to practise their, perhaps innocent, impostures on the public; and every absurdity that could be devised, or distortion of reality in costume, still continued to disgrace the stage. We were not indeed more absurd in this respect than other European nations, nor was it until a short time before the late revolution that the French theatre had reformed itself in this respect. Many persons now recollect the state of the English stage in Garrick's time, when that excellent performer used to exhibit his Hamlet in a common French coat of black velvet and a cocked hat, and his



Richards in a scarlet coat with broad gold lace like the uniform of a modern general. Quin is said to have played Othello in a flowing powdered periwig. How Shakespeare's characters were habited on the stage in his time would be difficult or even impossible to ascertain with accuracy at present, except in a few instances; but we have no reason to suppose that much propriety was manifested on the occasion. Unhappily for us it was not then the practice to decorate the printed plays with frontispieces; and the theatrical plates and pictures even of succeeding times are not very commonly to be met with. It is on this account that the cuts to Mr. Rowe's edition of Shakespeare, and those to the first octavo edition of the works of Beaumont and Fletcher, are at present extremely valuable, as they serve to record many pleasant absurdities that will not fail to excite a smile in the beholder.

It was reserved for the great actor who to the scenic talents of a Garrick unites that managerial skill and judgment in the costume of nations which the other wanted, to reform these follies; and, by exhibiting to us times as they were, to render the stage what it should be, a true and perfect mirror of history and manners.

The above very slight notice of the subject be-

few as may perhaps be sufficient for the purpose of introducing the mention of those anachronisms that are ascribable to Shakespeare: and this has not been done with any view to exhibit him as more culpable in this respect than most of his contemporaries, but solely for the purpose of collecting them together as an object of amusement: nothing however could have been less judicious than the conduct of Mr. Pope when he placed them to the account of the publishers. Nor is the catalogue offered as a complete one; the diligent and critical reader will discover some that are here unmentioned.

But the negligence of writers in the due observance of costume is but trifling, when compared with what is to be laid to the charge of painters and other artists. Volumes have been profusely filled, and the number might still be augmented, with the errors of even the best of the old painters. Nor are the modern by any means to be acquitted on this score. We too frequently see works of the greatest intrinsic worth, both in composition and execution, depreciated by the most absurd violations of historical accuracy and a want of adherence to the manners of the times they refer to. In this case they are not what they profess to be; and whilst

they delight the eye, they delude the understanding. It is extremely pleasing to observe the zeal which manifests itself among the leading artists of the present day to obtain correct notions of the manners of former times whenever they have occasion to depict them. The works of many of our best painters will not only excite the admiration but the gratitude of posterity for the faithful delineation of their subjects, and the labours of future antiquaries will be reduced in proportion as pictures of this kind shall increase\*.

To return to Shakespeare.—In the dramatic personæ of many of his plays we find a medley of ancient and modern names that is often extremely ridiculous. At Ephesus we meet with *Pierch*, a schoolmaster; at Mytilene with *Boat*, a clown; and at Athens with *Song*, *Dutton*, *Smoot*, *Quiver*, &c. In his later stories English names are given to foreigners. Thus at Vienna we have *Frank* and *Elbow*; in Navarre,

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\* Mr. Stedman, the most interesting of men, but with every thing so superior talent, has recently finished a painting of the procession of Chaucer's Canterbury pilgrims, which may be classed among the choicest works of its kind. The attention to accuracy of costume which it displays has never been exceeded, and but very seldom so well displayed.

*Deli, Costard, and Mith*; and in *Illyria*, *Sir Toby Belch* and *Sir Andrew Aguecheek*. But these, strictly speaking, are not anachronisms, but, on the whole, justifiable licences; for it would have been impossible to transmit the humour of such characters as the above to an English audience under the disguise of foreign names, though it must be admitted that more English characters as well as names are sometimes introduced. Nor is Shakespeare always responsible for such whitewashings, for they are occasionally to be traced in the materials whereof his plays were constructed; and others belong to those writers whom he had only named in dramas the whole composition of which had been improperly ascribed to him.

### MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR.

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The incidents in this play are supposed to belong to the reign of Henry the Fourth, and consequently the introduction of the shillings of Edward the third, and the mention of *Mistress of* are improper; as well as the then newly-introduced terms of the fencing school revealed by Shallow.

Perhaps *Alcous Pinel* and *Georgel Nym* are objectionable ideas. The allusion to *Guiana* and the *West Indies* by *Falstaff* are obvious anachronisms.

## TWELFTH NIGHT.

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The introduction of the *Isle of Warr* may be justified, because it is referred to as in England; but the same defence cannot be made for the *Isle of Saint Brevant*, as they are specifically alluded to.

## MEASURE FOR MEASURE.

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We have here an English jury in a German court of justice.

## MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM.

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The scene of this play lies at Athens, in the time of Theseus, but we find the mention of *gums*; of *French-crowns* and *French-crown-coloured beads*; of *church-yards* and *roads* in

## 288 ON THE ANACHRONISMS, &c.

*levaity* ; of *dean Roon*, new ribbons to pumps, and masks ; of *Jack and Gill*, the nine-miles morris, and kissing the bridal bed. Carols, inasmuch as they are applicable to songs in general, and, in an antiquated sense, to dances, may be doubtful, though the allusion was in all probability to Christmas carols. Hermin is made to speak of the fire which burned the Carthage quern.

## MERCHANT OF VENICE.

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English judges are introduced into the Venetian republic.

## WINTER'S TALE.

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The transactions of this play arise in Sicily and Bohemia ; and though the characters are imaginary, they are supposed to exist in Pagan times. Notwithstanding this we have *Helen's* pastoral, *Christian's* burial, a *hobby-horse*, an emperor of *Rome*, and an Italian painter of the fifteenth century.

## COMEDY OF ERRORS.

In the ancient city of Ephesus we have doctors, monks, and guilders, and the abbess of a nunnery. Mention is also made of several modern European kingdoms, and of America; of Henry the Fourth of France, of Turkish tapestry, a rapier, and a striking clock; of Lapland sorcerers, Saturn, and even of Adam and Noah. In one place Antipholus calls himself a Christian. As we are unacquainted with the immediate source whence this play was derived, it is impossible to ascertain whether Shakspeare is responsible for these anachronisms.

## MACBETH.

The errors here are confined to the introduction of canons and of dollars.

## KING JOHN.

In this play we also find canons, with angels,  
VOL. II. U

## 280 ON THE ANACHRONISMS, &c.

*Antyphol'd* greaves and shoes, striking pieces. Cards too are introduced, and *Basilius*, a character of the time of Elizabeth.

### KING HENRY THE FOURTH.

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The anachronisms are very numerous in the plays on this reign. We have pistols and silk stockings; gilt ruff-pieces, and travelling-jackets; a ballad with a picture on it, evidently alluding to the wood-cuts on those compositions; the game of shove-groat or slide along, which was not invented before the reign of Henry the Eighth. Mention is also made of John Scogan, jester to Edward the Fourth, and of *Archer's* shoes though not introduced till a long time afterwards.

### KING HENRY THE FIFTH.

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The Turks are put into possession of Constantinople, which did not fall into their hands till upwards of thirty years after Henry's death.



## KING HENRY THE SIXTH.

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Macbeth, who was not born till 1448, is twice introduced in these plays. Printing is also prematurely mentioned.

## KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

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An old woman is made to talk of how'd shrew-pence; but these pieces were not known in England till the reign of Edward the Sixth, though some are said to have been coined in Ireland during that of Edward the Fourth.

## TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

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Hector quotes *Aristotle*; Ulysses speaks of the bull-bearing *Mis*, and Pandarus of a man born in *April*, *Friday* and *Sunday* and even *mineral-pies* with dates in them are introduced.

### TIMON OF ATHENS.

*Paper* is mentioned in this play. In a Roman drama it might have passed; but we have no evidence that the Greeks used the papyrus plant at this early period.

### CORIOLANUS.

*Alexander, Cato, and Galba*, are improperly alluded to, all being posterior to the time of Coriolanus. Other anachronisms are—the mention of graves in a holy church-yard; groats, mummery, foolscrowns, and a kitchen maids. Coriolanus describes the populace by the names of *Ho!* and *Dick*.

### JULIUS CÆSAR.

Cassius speaks of a master and reveller, and of the clock striking three.

## ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.



Antony talks of *parting cards*, and deals out his leaves, *quarrel*, *hearts*, and *trumps*, as if he were a whist-player. His bestowing the epithet of *gipsy* on Cleopatra is whimsical, but may perhaps admit of defence.

## CYMBELINE.



The British tribute being estimated at three thousand pounds, strikes on the ear as a modern composition. Imogen calls her supposed master, a valiant ancient Briton, by the name of *Richard Du Champ*. We find mention of the recreation of *dancing*; of *paper*; of *cards* strewed in apartments; of a *striking clock*; of *chivalrous*, and a *stage* as a *social place*. Cymbeline is made to knight Belarius and his sons on the field of battle by *dubbing* them according to the fashion of the middle ages.

## TITUS ANDRONICUS.

The period in which the incidents in this play are supposed to have happened (for they are all fictitious) is difficult to ascertain. There was an emperor called Saturninus during the reigns of Gallien and Aurelian, but he was not the son of any Roman emperor, as stated in the dramatic personæ. From the introduction of the Goths, the author perhaps adhered to the time of the above emperors. In all events the play has many absurdities to answer for. A child is sent to Aaron the Moor to be christened by him. He accuses Lucius of twenty Jewish tricks; talks of an *olive's* *humbley*; and says he can blush "like a black dog, as the saying is." A clown invokes "God and Saint Stephen." Aaron calls for *clats*, as if addressing the *London* *persecutors*; and Demetrius speaks of a *dancing* *repiar*. Cards and a monastery are also introduced.

## PERICLES.

The story, though altogether fabulous, belongs

so a period a little antecedent to the Christian era; and therefore it is a manifest inconsistency to introduce crowns of the same, squares, a pointed, conical; a Spanish ruff; rings of iron; *Alou-ahur Pirodis* a French dagger; a Spanish rouse and motto, and the lost *Phœreus*. Amidst numerous invocations to Heathen Gods, there is an immediate allusion to the unity of the Deity.

### KING LEAR.

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We have here a plentiful crop of blunders. Kent talks, like a good Protestant, of eating an Ash; and Gloucester, of not standing in need of spectacles. We have Yards, Beilens beggars, *chiff Robins*, *Saints Whilch*, a *Morabit* of France, *cruplers*, *dollars*, *paper*, *holy water*, and the *French disease*. There is an allusion to the old theatrical morality; and Nero, who did not live till several hundred years after Lear, is mentioned by Edgar as an angler in the lake of darkness.

### HAMLET.

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The Danish History has placed Hamlet in false-

less than, long before the introduction of Christianity into the North of Europe; and therefore there is great impropriety in the frequent allusion to Christian customs. Hamlet swears by *Saint Patrick*; and converses with Goldsmith on the children of the chapel of *Saint Paul's*. In several places customs are introduced, and a good deal of the theatrical manners of Shakespeare's own time. We have a Dutch *and* royal long before *and* were used; a university at Wittenberg; *Sons* guards; *aripants* or *badys*; *bellis*; *dicato*; *cream-punch*; *modern heraldry*; *rapier*, and *terms of modern fencing*.



DISSERTATION I.

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OF THE

CLOWNS AND FOOLS

OF

SHAKESPEARE.





A  
DISSERTATION  
ON THE  
CLOWNS AND FOOLS  
OF  
SHAKSPEARE.

---

THE ensuing dissertation originated from the opinion of a late eminent critic and antiquary that the subject was deserving of particular consideration. How imperfectly it must be executed will best be felt by those who are already accustomed to obscure inquiries; and little more can here be offered, or reasonably expected, than some attempt to arrange a few materials that have occurred during a course of reading immediately connected with the history of ancient manners. The critic above alluded to had remarked, that Shakspeare has most judiciously varied and discriminated his fools\*. Without doubting that

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\* See a note by Mr. Keston in *Twelfth night*, act ii. sc. ii. with *Don Quixote*, vol. vi. p. 45.

great writer's capacity to have done so, it certainly remains to be proved that he has; or it might even be maintained that on some occasions he has left his sketches so imperfect as to render it by no means an easy matter to comprehend them. It has already been thought better to make the attempt in a separate note to the plays in which a clown or fool is introduced, and so direct what is now offered to a more general view of the subject.

It is so exceedingly clear that the terms *clown* and *fool* were used, however improperly, as synonymous by our old writers, that it would be an unnecessary occupation of the reader's time to adduce examples. Their confused introduction in the dramatic personae might indeed render this position doubtful to any one who had not well considered the matter; but although the *fool* of our old plays denoted either a mere idiot or natural, or else a witty knave or artificial fool, both retained for the purpose of making sport for their employers, the *clown* was certainly a character of much greater variety. He occasionally represented one of the above personages; sometimes he was a mere rustic, and very often no more than a shrewd and witty domestic. There are some instances in which any low character is a

play served to amuse the audience with his wiles of coarse buffonery, and thus became the clown of the piece. In short, the theatrical clown or fool seems to have been a kind of heterogeneous character, drawn in part from real life, but very considerably heightened in order to produce stage effect; an opinion that derives considerable support from what Shakspeare has put into the mouth of Hamlet, when he makes him admonish those who play the clowns to speak no more than is set down for them. Indeed the great dramatist himself cannot be absolved from the imputation of having given too high a coloring to the characters in question, unless we suppose, what is extremely probable, that his plays have been very much interpolated with the extemporaneous nonsense of the players. To this licentious practice the author of an excellent and well written satire, entitled *Poquail's mad-coppe, or the corruption of these times*, 1656, 4to, alludes in the following lines:

" Tell country players, that old poetry goes  
 Proscrued in a painted mad-copie,  
 Fills all the world to full of such mad words,  
 That nightingales are scarcely song a note;  
 Oh let them leave their words to better men;  
 Fields are ill sown that give no better grain."

Among other grave writers of the age, Sir

Philip Sidney has reproached the practice of introducing fools on the theatre. He remarks that the plays of his time were neither right tragedies nor right comedies, but that the authors mingled kings and clowns, "not," says he, "because the matter so quick it, but thrust in the clown by head and shoulders to play a part in magnificent matters, with neither decency nor discretion: so as neither the admiration and commendation, nor the right sportfulness is by their mongrel tragic-comedy obtained!" William Raskin, a partisan, and contemporary with Shakspeare, has left us a most virulent attack on plays, and players, whom he calls monsters; "And while monsters," says he, "disguise under colour of humanity they present nothing but prodigious vices. These are weeds without water, dead branches fit for fuel, cockle amongst corn, unsavoury weeds amongst sweet herbs, and finally, weeds that are crept into the world by stealth, and hold possession by subtil invasion." In another place, describing the performers at a fictitious banquet in Terralbon, ([England]) he says, "Some transformed themselves to rogues, other to ruffians, some other to clowns, a fourth to *fiesher* . . .

\* *Sylver of justice*, near the end.

the rogues were ready, the ruffians were rude, they cleave clouds as well with country conditions, as in ruff's ruseet; they *fool* as *fools* as might be," &c.<sup>2</sup> The latter passage is interesting, because the clown is properly distinguished from the fool, as he always should have been.

It may be the means of affording a clearer view of the present subject, if something like a classification of the different sorts of fools and clowns be given. The following is therefore offered as a substitute for a better.

I. The *general domestic fool*, often, but as it should seem improperly, termed a clown. He was 1. a more natural, or idiot. 2. Silly by nature, yet cunning and sarcastical. 3. Artificial. Puttenham, speaking of the latter, says, "A buffoon or courtier's fool, to have him speak wholly which is like himself, it is no sport at all; but for such a courtier to talk and look foolishly it maketh us laugh, because it is no part of his nature." All these affiliated occasionally as mental servants.

II. The clown, who was 1. a more country

<sup>2</sup> *Mirror of merrour*, 1597, 4to, fo. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Arte of English poezie*, 1589, 4to, fo. 101.

body. 2. A witty rustic. 3. Any servant of a shrewd and witty disposition, and who, like a similar character in our modern plays, was made to treat his master with great familiarity in order to produce stage effect.

III. *The female fool*, who was generally an idiot.

IV. *The city or corporation fool*, whose office was to assist at public entertainments and in pageants. To this class belong perhaps the Lord Mayor's state fool, and those employed by the companies of trades, &c.

V. *Tavern-fools*. These seem to have been retained to amuse the customers. We learn from one of Ben Jonson's plays that they exhibited with a Jew's harp, mounted on a joint-stool<sup>1</sup>, and in another of them he has preserved the name of such a character<sup>2</sup>; they were sometimes qualified to sing after the Indian manner<sup>3</sup>. Fools were also employed in the common brothels<sup>4</sup>.

VI. *The fool of the ancient identical mystic and moralists*. He was, more properly speaking, the *Fool*, a singular character, that would afford sufficient matter for much better

<sup>1</sup> *The Jew* is an act, Sc. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *The Jew*, Act II. Sc. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Merry Tricks*, Sc. 7.

<sup>4</sup> See vol. i. p. 141.

disposition than those of Warburton or Upton. Being generally deemed in a fool's habit, he appears to have been graciously and undistinguishably blended with the domestic fool; yet he was certainly a buffoon of a different sort. He was always a bitter enemy to the Devil, and a part of his employment consisted in teasing and tormenting the poor fiend on every occasion. He ceased to be in fashion at the end of the sixteenth century<sup>1</sup>.

VII. *The fool in the old dumb show exhibited at fairs and perhaps at fens, in which he was generally engaged in a struggle with Death; a fact that seems alluded to more than once in Shakspeare's plays.* It is possible that some rural vestiges of this species of entertainment might have suggested the modern English pantomime.

VIII. *The fool in the Whittam ads and Morris dance.*

IX. *The mounchard's fool, or merry Andrew.*

There may be others introduced into our old dramas of an indefinite and irregular kind, and not referable to any of the above classes; but to exemplify these or many of the above by a specific reference to authorities is not within the

<sup>1</sup> The Devil is no use, &c. &c.

scope of the present essay. It is hoped that what has been just stated may contribute to assist the readers of old plays in forming some judgment of their own whenever the necessity shall arise.

A general investigation of that most singular and eccentric character the real domestic fool would occupy more space than could have been spared. It would indeed extend to a length that few will conceive; but should the unassailable spirit of curiosity respecting the manners of former times which at present constitutes much of the amusement of an enlightened public continue to maintain its influence, encouragement would not be wanting to return the subject more at large. In the mean time it may be sufficient to remark that the practice of retaining fools can be traced in very remote times throughout almost all civilized and even among some barbarous nations. It prevailed from the palace to the hovel. The pope had his fool, and the lowest hermit; and ladies entertained those of both sexes. With respect to the antiquity of this custom in our own country, there is reason to suppose that it existed even during the period of our Saxon history; but we are quite certain of the fact in the reign of William the conqueror. An almost contemporary historian, Master Wace, has left us a curious ac-



count of the preservation of William's life when he was only duke of Normandy by his fool Golsh.<sup>a</sup> Mention is made in *Domestick of Berche* particular regle; and although this term was unquestionably applied in numerous instances to denote a misanth, much evidence might be adduced to show that on this occasion it signified a buffoon. Latin terms were used by the middle-age writers so loosely and with such extreme carelessness, that in many cases it is difficult to obtain a precise idea of their meaning. Thus the jesters and misanth were indistinctly expressed by the words *jaculator*, *scorne*, *satire*, *satiriculus*, &c., a paradox that may admit of justification when we consider that in early times the misanth and buffoon characters were sometimes united in one person. It must be allowed, however, that in an etymological point of view the term *jaculator* is much better adapted to the jester than the misanth.

The accounts of the household expences of our sovereigns contain many payments and rewards to fools both foreign and domestic, the motives for which do not appear, but might perhaps have been some witty speech or comic action that had

<sup>a</sup> *Revue des deux Mondes*, M. B. Reg. 4, C. 21.

planned the donors. Some of these payments are annual gifts at Christmas. Dr. Fuller, speaking of the court jester, whom he says some count a necessary evil, remarks, in his usual quaint manner, that it is an office which none but he that hath wit can perform, and none but he that wants it will perform<sup>1</sup>. A great many names of these buffoons have been preserved; and sufficient materials remain to furnish a separate biography of them, which might afford even more amusement than can be found in the lives of many of their betters. They continued an appendage to the English court to a late period. Muckle John, the fool of Charles the First, and the successor of Archon Armstrong, is perhaps the last regular personage of the kind<sup>2</sup>. The national troubles that produced the downfall of royal power, and

<sup>1</sup> *Idyl. viii.*, p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> The person was probably the subject of the following lines in *Burton's Epigrams*, 1639, 4to:

"How plump's the libertine<sup>1</sup> how rich and tawny!  
His joss with others, tawny joss with him."

Mr. Garrick, in a letter to Lord Shaftesbury, says "There is a new fool in his [Archon's] place, Muckle John, but he will not be so rich, for he cannot drink money." *Shaftesbury papers*, ii. 124.

the particular manner that ensued, at once determined the existence of an office that had so long maintained its ground at court; and when Charles the Second resumed the throne, it was probably deemed a matter of no moment to restore it. The common stories that relate to Killigrew as jester to Charles, rest on no sufficient authority; and although he might have contributed to amuse the witty monarch with his jokes, it is certain that he had no regular appointment to such an office. Mr. Granger has justly observed, that the wit of the buffoons became the highest recommendation of a courtier in the time of Charles the Second\*.

The discontinuance of the court fool had a considerable influence on the manner of private life; and we learn from one of Shadwell's plays, that it was then "out of fashion for great men to keep fools."† But the practice was by no means abolished; it maintained its ground in this country so late as the beginning of the last century; and we have an epitaph, written by Dean Swift, on Dicky France the Earl of Suffolk's fool, who was buried in Berkeley church-yard, June 18,

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\* *Stage Hist. of England*, v. 100.

† *The women captain*, 1685, *Act* 1.

1738<sup>1</sup>. This person was an idiot. Lord Chancellor Talbot kept a Welsh jester named Rieu Pongdiding. He was a very shrewd fellow, and raised a laugh of his master. Being detained on for his rent by an oppressive steward, who had been a tailor and bore him a grudge, the early fellow said to him on this occasion: "I'll fit you, sirrah." "Then," replied Rieu, "it will be the first time in your life that you ever fitted any one." Another Welshman called Will de t-borne was retained in a similar capacity, about the beginning of the last century, by Sir Edward Greville, of St. David's castle, in Glamorganshire. He is said to have been a very witty fellow, and man of strong intellects. Lord Barry Moreel, of Margam, had likewise in his service one Robin Rush an idiot by nature, but who often said very witty things. There are people now alive in Wales, or lately were, who well remembered him.

The sort of entertainment that fools were expected to afford, may be collected in great variety from our old plays, and particularly from those of Shakspeare; but perhaps no better idea can be formed of their general mode of conduct than from the following passage in a singular tract by

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<sup>1</sup> *English Collex. for Clarend.*

Lodge, entitled *JFV's memoirs*, 1669, etc. "And moderate and disordinate joy became incorporate in the body of a jester: the fellow in person is comely, in apparel comely, but in behavior a very ape, and no man; his studie is to catch bitter jests, or to shew antique notions, or to sing headie sonnets and ballades: give him a little wine in his head, he is continually swearing and making of mouths: he laughs immoderately at every little occasion, and dances about the house, leaps over tables, out-skips many heads, trips up his companions heels, burns each with a candle, and hath all the fume of a kind of miracle in the countrey: feed him in his humour, you shall have his heart, in merry kindness he will hug you in his armes, kiss you on the cheekes, and capping out an horrible oth, crye God's soule Turn, I love you, you know my poore heart, come to my chamber for a pipe of tobacco, there lives not a man in this world that I more honour. In these ceremonies you shall know his coveting, and it is a speciall mark of him at the table, he sits and makes faces: keep not this fellow company, for in juggling with him, your wardenes shall be wasted, your crookes crackt, your crowns consumed, and time [the most precious riches of

the world) *seely* lost." This is the picture of a real hindling or artificial fool.

As the professors of these hindlings required a considerable degree of skill and dexterity to amuse their employers, as it would in some instances fail of success, and the want of the above talents would excite considerable disgust and dissatisfaction. Cardinal Perron being one day in company with the duke of Mantua, the latter, speaking of his fool, said that he was *un magre homme* of *non d'assez esprit*. The cardinal remarked that nevertheless he had wit. "Why so?" demanded the duke; "Because," replied the other, "he lives by a trade which he does not understand." The liberties allowed them were necessarily very great; but this was not always a protection to them. Every one knows the disgracefully severe conduct of archbishop Leao to poor Archon. The duke of Repessen, though a man of great brightness of spirit, conducted himself on a similar occasion with much more discretion. The Gascon account was a constant subject of satire on the part of Muret, the fool of Louis XIII., whose great talent lay in mimicry. Cardinal

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\* Perruque, *inter Sanderson*, &c. i. 116.

Richelieu, who took upon him to give the duke some pointed admonitions, ordered him among other things to endeavour to get rid of his provincial tones, at the same time countervailing his speech, and successfully directing him not to take his advice in bad part. "But why should I," replied the duke, "when I hear as much every day from the king's fool who mocks me in your presence?" Soliman has remarked, on a similar occasion, that a gallant man is above ill words, and has left us a story of the forbearance of the old lord Salisbury, whom he calls a great wise man, towards Stone, a celebrated fool in the reign of James the First\*. Poets, however, did not always escape with impunity; they were liable to, and often experienced, very severe domestic castigation. Whipping was the punishment generally inflicted†. On the

\* *Vignol de Mariva, Mémoires* li. 20.

† *Tullie cell, Act* First-*speaking*.

† The aggregation *hoop* of our old plays. *Lambertiana* is filled with the whip, *Act* 1. *Sc* 4, and see also *you like it, Act* 1. *Sc* 2. In Dr Turner's *Manifolds of spiritual physics*, 1726, *Paris*, *Sc* 4, there is a very curious story of John of Law, the king of Scotland's fool, which throws light on the subject in question. Yet the chastising of the poor fools seems to have been a very vulgar practice, when it is remembered that they were a privileged class with respect to chastisement and stripes. *Olivia*, in *Twelfth night*, says, that "there

other hand they appear to have been sometimes used with great tenderness. This is very feelingly exemplified in the conduct of Leon. Bedford, in his *Guide of Honour*, 1694, 18mo, tells us, that he "had known a great and conspicuously wise man who would much respect any man that was good to his flock." An opportunity here presents itself of explaining the old proverb of "five pounds; you've killed a fool," which, according to the usual privilege or allowance belonging to this character, seems to demand a forfeit from whoever had infringed it by inflicting an improper and unbecoming chastisement. The expression de-

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is no doubt an unallowed fool though he do nothing but cry,' and Jacques, *en le jouant* it, alludes to the same privilege. See likewise other instances in Rast's *Old plays*, iii. 355, and iv. 412. Yet in cases where the free discourse of fools gave just offence to the ears of modest females they seem to have been treated without mercy, and to have forfeited their usual privilege. Thus we learn from Beaumont, who, at the end of his *German pastor*, relates a story of a fool belonging to Elizabeth of France, who got a whipping in the kitchen for a boisterous speech to her mistress. A representation of the manner in which the Regulation of Fools was performed may be seen in a German edition of *Pantoch. De comæ scenique fortuna*, published more than once at Frankfurt, in the narrow cutsey, just a. day. 180



draw support from a passage in Ben Jonson's *For*, and also contribute to its illustration. In the second act there is a song describing a fool, in which it is said that he "speaks truth free from slaughter." This has been with some ingenuity supposed to mean "free from hurting any one." The other construction may perhaps be thought as plausible.

With respect to his office on the stage, we may suppose it would be nearly the same as in reality ; the difference might be that his wit was more highly seasoned. Mr. Malone has already used a very curious passage on this subject from the play of *The curious childer*, 1659\*. In Middleton's *Wife of Quinborough*, a company of actors with a clown make their appearance, and the following dialogue ensues :

First clown.

Then we are clown, an.

Second.

Yes, yes, your company

Shall fall upon him and beat him, he's too thin, I think  
To make the people laugh.

First clown.

Not as he may be draw'd in.

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\* See his note on *All's well that ends well*, Act i. Sc. 2.

## 114 ON THE CLOWNS AND FOOLS

*Enter.*

"Faith, I reckon how you will, I'll give him  
That gift, he will never look half so sorry enough.  
Oh, the clowns that I have seen in my time  
The very peeping out of one of them would have  
Made a young hart laugh, though he father by a-tying;  
A gentleman in love that day before  
(The wildest one that can be) might do the second  
Have been laugh'd with longling, and ended all  
His matters. There was a merry world, my masters;  
Have talk of things of state, of going mail;  
There's nothing in a play like two clowns,  
If he have the grace to hit on it, that's the thing indeed.

*Enter.*

*Merry then, faith, clowns in thy merry cropper.*

Whichever is desirous of obtaining general and accurate information concerning the great variety of devices that belong to some of the characters in question at different periods, must study ancient poems and paintings, and especially the miniatures that embellish manuscripts. These will afford sufficient specimens; but the difficulty of ascertaining how the theatrical fools and clowns of Shakspeare's time were always habited, is insuperable. In some instances the plays themselves assist by peculiar references that leave but little doubt; but this is not the case in general. It is to be lamented that our artists did not ap-

propriate most of their labours to the representation of theatrical subjects, and the fortunate discovery of a single ancient painting of this kind would be of more importance than a volume of conjectural dissertations. As it may be presumed that former theatrical managers exhibited with fidelity on the stage the manners of their own times, a reference to the materials which remain to illustrate the dress of the real actors, may supply the defect before alluded to.

It may be collected both from the plays themselves, and from various other authorities, that the costume of the domestic fact in Shakespeare's time was of two sorts. In the first of these the coat was modest or parti-coloured, and attached to the body by a girdle, with bells at the skirts and elbows, though not always. The breeches and hose close, and sometimes each leg of a different colour. A hood resembling a monk's cowl, which, at a very early period, it was certainly designed to imitate, covered the head entirely, and fell down over part of the breast and shoulders. It was sometimes decorated with moss-rose, or else terminated in the neck and head of a cock<sup>1</sup>, a fashion as old as the

<sup>1</sup> Plate III. fig. 1. Plate VI. fig. 2, 3, 4.

## 318 ON THE CLOWNS AND FOOLS

fourteenth century. It often had the comb or crest only of the helmet\*, whence the term *cock-head* or *cock-crest* was afterwards used to denote any silly upstart. This fool usually carried in his hand an official scepter or bauble, which was a short stick ornamented at the end with the figure of a fool's head, or sometimes with that of a doll or puppet†. To this instrument there was frequently annexed an inflated skin or bladder, with which the fool belaboured those who offended him, or with whom he was inclined to make sport; this was often used by Jack, in *his*, as it should seem, of a bauble‡. The form of it varied,

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\* Plate II. fig. 2.

† Plate III. fig. 7. & 8. Plate V. Hence the French call a bauble *marotte*, from *Marionette*, or *Little Mary*: but if the learned reader should prefer to derive the word from the Greek *pappi*, or the Latin *papa*, he is at full liberty to do so, and indeed such preference would be supported by the comparatively modern figure of the child's head, which the term *marotte* might have suggested. The bauble rightly used in King Lear is said to have been exact in form to the nose of Carvel, and the figure of a would certainly have been worth preserving. To supply its place a representation is given of the head of a real bauble very lately moved in ivory. See plate IV. fig. 4. & 5. A bauble is very often improperly put into the hands of *Monsieur*.

‡ Plate III. fig. 2. & 7. p. 9. Plate VI. fig. 2. & 3.

and in some instances was oblong in the highest degree. It was not always filled with air, but occasionally with sand, or pease. Sometimes a strong hat or club was substituted for the handle\*. In the second tale of the priors of Poole, a man who counterfeits a fool is described "with club and bel and purke nose with skin;" but it afterwards appears that he had both a club and a handle. In an inventory of the goods of the ancient company of Saint George at Norwich, mention is made of "two hains, one for the club-bearer, another for his man, who are now called fools;" and the author of Tarkenton's *new out of purgatory*, 1620, *etc.*, describes a dream in which he saw "one armed in raiment with a bottom'd cup on his head, a great bag by his side, and a strong bat in his hand, so artificially armed for a clown, as I began to call Tarkenton's wonted shape to remembrance."

In some old plates the fool is represented with a sort of flapper or rattle ornamented with bells. It seems to have been constructed of two round and flat pieces of wood or parchment, and is, no

\* Plate III. fig. 4; and see *Forest's Dress and Habits of the people of England*, plate LXXI.

† *Blountfield's Hist. of England*, v. 737.

## 220 ON THE CLOWNS AND FOOLS

*donke*, a wedge of the ovalum used by the Roman *salices* or dancers'. This implement was used for the same purpose as the bladder, and occasionally for correcting the fool himself whenever he behaved with too much licentiousness. Such a confusion is actually exhibited in one ancient German edition of the *Schip of Janke*, by Sebastian Brant; but the usual punishment on that occasion was a simple whipping. In some old plays the fool's dagger is mentioned, perhaps the same instrument as was carried by the *Plee* or buffoon of the Marston; and it may be as well to observe in this place that the domestic fool is sometimes, though it is presumed improperly, called the *Vice*'. The dagger of the latter was made of a thin piece of lath; and the use be

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\* *Plat III. fig. 1.* In the Imperial library at Vienna, there is a manuscript calendar, and is here been written on the feast of Constantine the son of Constantine the great, with drawings of the twelve months. April is represented by a man dancing with a switch in each hand. This instrument was probably constructed of bone, in order to make a striking noise. See it represented in *Plat III. fig. 2*, which is copied from a print in London. *Field Court. Plaides*, tom. iv. p. 192. There stands an old gown in Marston's antiquities.

† See Ben Jonson's *Devil is an ass*, Act 1.

generally made of it was to belabour the Devil. It appears that in queen Elizabeth's time the archbishop of Canterbury's fool had a wooden dagger and concealer<sup>1</sup>. In Greene's play of *Fryer Bacon*, the fool speaks of his dagger. In Beaumont and Fletcher's *Noble gentlemen*, a person being compared to a fool, it is added that he should wear a guarded coat and a great wooden dagger. In Chapman's *Midas* scene, an upstart governor is termed "a wooden dagger gilded o'er" and Rabelais has made Panurge give Triboulet the fool a wooden sword. In an old German print a fool is represented with a sword like a one<sup>2</sup>.

The other dress, and which seems to have been more common in the time of Shakspeare, was the long-purlicout<sup>3</sup>. This originally appertained to the idiot or natural fool, and was obviously adapted for the purposes of cleanliness and confinement. Why it came to be used for the allowed fool is not so apparent. It was, like the

<sup>1</sup> Percy's *Great and Little Diggers*, &c. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Plate III. fig. 1. copied from Schlopper (H. 20001313), *ancien costume des gens de justice*, &c. Paris. 1866. (Limo, copy O 4.)

<sup>3</sup> Plate VI. fig. 1. 2.

## SEE ON THE CLOWNS AND FOOLS

line, of various colours, the materials often costly, as of silver, and guarded or fringed with yellow<sup>1</sup>. In one instance we have a yellow leather doublet<sup>2</sup>. In Bancroft's *Epigrams*, 1539, quarto, there is one addressed "to a glist with her greene sickness," in which are these lines :

"Thy sickness makes thy pale, that's sicker none  
But as gold's yellow, and the liver's greene;"

And a manuscript note in the time of the commonwealth states yellow to have been the *fool's* colour. This petticoat dress continued to a late period, and has been seen not many years since in some of the interiors exhibited in Wales.

But the above were by no means the only modes in which the domestic fools were habited. Many variations can be traced. The hood was not always connected with the cock's comb, in lieu of which a single bell and occasionally more appeared<sup>3</sup>. Sometimes a feather was added to the comb<sup>4</sup>. In the old morality of *The Tugger*

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<sup>1</sup> Prologue to *Every Man in his Humour*. Marston's *Mistaken*, Act i. Sc. 2, and Act iii. Sc. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Walker's *Shakespeare*, vol. I. part i. p. 304.

<sup>3</sup> Plate II. fig. 4. Plate IV. fig. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Plate IV. fig. 1.



then have the more fools than art, More the fool says,

"By my troth the thing that I desire most  
Is in my cage to have a pretty fellow!"

The head was frequently shaved in imitation or perhaps ridicule of a monk's crown. This practice is very ancient, and can be traced to the twelfth century. In one instance the hair exhibited a sort of triple or Papal crown<sup>1</sup>. The tails of furs or squirrels were often suspended to the garment. Godfrey Gobblin the fool in *Hawton's Fartine of pleasure*, 1517, 4to, is described as so habited. In *The paper's favour*, 1605, 4to, the author says, "I shall prove him such a rascally before I leave him that all the world will decree him worthy to wear in his forehead a coronet for his foolishness, and on his back, a *far* taylor for his badge." It was likewise the dress of the fool in the plough pageant and morris dance<sup>2</sup>. One might almost conclude that this custom was designed to ridicule a fashion that prevailed among the ladies in the reign of Edward the Third, and which is mentioned by the author of the old

<sup>1</sup> *Item II.* fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Corydon's Creation*, p. 2, edn. 1611, 4to. *Smith's Gloss on popular sayings*, p. 174.

chronicle of England, erroneously ascribed to Caxton the printer, in the following terms, "And the women more nicely yet passed the men in way and courteousness, for they were so strictly clothed that they let large for smaller seemed bleache within his clothes for to hole and hide this &—, the which shynynge and pride peradventure afterward brought forth and increased many mishappes and mischief in the reame of England." The idiot or natural was often clothed in a calf or sheep's skin\*.

A large purse or wallet at the girdle is a very ancient part of the fool's dress. Turlow, who personated the clown in Shakespeare's time, appears to have worn it<sup>†</sup>. The budget given by Falstaff to Triboulet the fool is described as made of a butcher's skull<sup>‡</sup>.

\* See the notice on a passage in *King John*—Barrow's *Shakespeare*, vol. p. 33, note 1794. "The writer shows the manner of Kamestra, by providing sheep-skins and calves skins to wrappe his deformed weale and shewe us." *Gene. Grammar*, 1678, 346.

† See the quotation from Turlow's *Memoirs* out of *propos* given in a preceding page. (319.) The portrait of Turlow in Harbage's *Biographical sketch*, and a print in the title of Grange's *The prolog*, or the *comic gallery*, show the costume of the pome and student. See likewise Plate IV. fig. 3, and Plate V.

‡ *Ralphais*, book III. ch. 48.

We may suppose, that the same variety of dress was observed on the stage which we know to have actually prevailed in common life. The fools, however, did not always appear in a distinctive habit, and some of their portraits still remaining confirm this observation. A very fine painting by Holbein, in Kensington palace, represents Will Somers the fool of Henry the Eighth, in a common dress\*. In a wardrobe account of that sovereign we find these articles:—  
 “For making a doublet of waincoats laced with curves and roses, for William Somers our fool.  
 Item for making of a cap and a cyppe of green cloth fringed with red erke and laced

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\* This picture is very well engraved in Goussier's *Portraits of remarkable persons*, vol. ii. There is a beautifully illuminated picture preserved among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum, 3 A. 101, written by John Walsley the chaplain and secretary of Henry the Eighth, with several marginal notes in the king's own hand relating, some of which are as good, *Pythagore* in plate 23, “Dont l'ame yena,” according to a very ancient custom, are the figures of King David and a fool, in this instance evidently the portraits of Henry and his favourite Will Somers. That of this latter person is here copied in Plate IV. fig. 2, but rather enlarged. The composition bears a strong resemblance to that of the figure in Holbein's picture of Henry the Eighth and his family, already noticed page 28 of the present volume.

with frys, for our side fools. Item for making of a doublet of kettles, lyncd with cotton and currys for our same fools." Yet he sometimes wore the usual hood instead of a cap; for in the same account is an article "For making of a coate of grasse-cloth with a double to the same, lynced with white crute lyncd with frys and bekerham, for our fools aforetold;" and there is a point of him after a picture by Holbein, in which he is represented in a long tunic with a chain and horn in his hand'. In the celebrated picture of Sir Thomas More's family by Holbein, Erasmus the fool is not distinguished by any peculiarity of dress; and, in one instance at least, the same remark applies to Archy the fool of *James IV.* In those families where the fool acted as a menial servant, it is possible that he might

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> In *Tithonus*, a play of *The Swan's Progress*, 1627, 4to, the long stock is described as indeed as a long coat with a gold cape or chain about the neck.

<sup>3</sup> See the point of Archy expressed by Cecil and parodied in his *Jests*, in which, unless Mr. George could have been serious with respect to a hat he has called "a pair of coloured socks," there is nothing depreciable of the fool's dress. This parodied has been copied in Goldsmith's celebrated work.

have reserved his official habit for particular occasions. The purity of motives that illustrate the theoretical character in question, must necessarily leave this part of the subject still more imperfect than the rest; but the plays of Shakespeare have furnished more information than those of any other writer. It is surprising, on the whole, that the character of the domestic fiend is an addition found in the old dramas that remain; because it was not only capable of affording considerable relief to the distressed part of the audience, but of giving the authors an opportunity of displaying a great deal of ingenuity so far as regarded extraneous wit. It is certain that the fiends in Shakespeare's plays were preeminent above all others. For this we have the authority of Blackwell, who makes one of his characters say that they had more wit than any of the wits and critics of his time\*. Beaumont and Fletcher have but rarely introduced them; Ben Jonson and Massinger never. Indeed the originals had rapidly declined at the period in which most of their plays were written, and another character of a mixed nature had substituted in their room. This was the wily servant or clown, (Class II.

\* The wits and critics, &c. l.

No. 1.) and of course his dress was not distinguished by any peculiarity.

The practice of introducing the fools and clowns between the acts and scenes, and after the play was finished, to amuse the audience with 'contemporaneous wit and buffoonery,' has been so well illustrated by the able historian of the English stage, that very little can remain to be said on the subject\*. It has been traced from the Greek and Roman theatres; and, as their usages were undoubtedly preserved in those of the middle ages that belonged to the countries where Roman influence had been spread, it would not of course be peculiar to the early stage in England. Indeed the records of the French theatre amply demonstrate the truth of this position, and furnish several examples of the practice in question. In the mystery of *Saint Barbara* we find this stage direction, "Pues. Ydane, et Statuas loquitar;" and he is several times introduced in like manner between the scenes, in order that the amusement of the spectators might not be suspended whilst something was in agitation for the further prosecution of the piece†. Perhaps

\* See Mr. Milnes's *Illustrated account of the English stage*.

† *Parade, Histoire du Theatre François*, II. pp. 47, 48, 54.

the most singular pause in any dramatic composition whatever is one which occurs in the very rare morality of *La condemnation des Jangars* in the following words, "Pause pour prier le fol. Il grant ung" collect en l'air de arinal de past delata, et tout coule par lui," *sign. M. sig.* Nor was the English stage in Shakespeare's time allowed to remain empty. Lupton has related a story of the clown at the Red Bull theatre, who was suddenly called for between the acts and forgot his fool's cap\*. Pottenham, speaking of verses that came in the middle and end, observes that "they were more commodiously uttered by the buffoons or vices in plays than by any other person".† It was likewise a part of the stage fool's office to introduce at his own discretion a great many old songs, or at least the fragments of them‡.

The first symptoms of the decline of the domestic fools, and the causes of it, have been already traced on; and the same reasons may partly be assigned for their exile from the stage.

\* See Mr. Seward's note at the end of the second act of *The money of the clown*.

† *State of English poetry, &c.*

‡ See Mr. Seward's note in *King Lear*, Act II. Sc. 2.

## 222 ON THE CLOWNS AND FOOLS

In the prologue to Goffe's *Caroline's shepherdess*, 1636, etc., there is a panegyric on them\*, and some concern is manifested for the fool's appearance in the play itself. It is likewise expressly stated that "the merry wit was banish'd with melancholy." Yet during the reign of Charles the Second occasional efforts were made to restore the character. In the tragedy of *Thorney abbey*, at the *London world*, 1663, 1666, the prologue is spoken by a fool who uses these words, "the poet's a fool who made the tragedy to tell a story of a king and a court and leave a fool out out, when in Percy's and Spenser's and Peele's and Archer's times, my venerable predecessors, a fool was always the principal vein." Shadwell's play of *The women captives*, 1666, is perhaps the last in which a regular fool is introduced, and even there his master is made to say that the character was then exploded on the stage.

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\* See Mr Malone's note on *As You Like It* and that note well, Act I. Sc. 2.



*The following is some additional and necessary explanation of the cuts belonging to this dissertation.*

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PLATE II. Fig. 1, is from *Cutts collection*. Fig. 2, is the dance of Suffolk's fool in the time of Henry VIII., copied from a print in Mrs. Byngham's *Memoirs of the poets of England*. Fig. 3 and 4, are from paintings in the author's possession.

PLATE III. All these instruments, excepting fig. 2 before described, are taken from various Dutch and German prints.

PLATE IV. Fig. 1 is from an old German print by an unknown master.

PLATE V. Is from a print by Broughel.

PLATE VI. Fig. 1 and 2 are from *A book of Christian prayers*, 8vo., 1480, 4to, being figures belonging to a dance of Death. Fig. 3, is from the frontispiece to Heywood's comedy of *The fair maid of the exchange*. Similar figures of the customs of fools in the time of James I., or Charles I., may be seen in *The life of Will Summers*, compiled long after his time. Fig. 4 and 5 are from *Le grand dictionnaire*, printed

at Tropes without date, but about the year 1500, in folio, a book of uncommon rarity and curiosity.

PLATE VII. Fig. 1 is from the *Scutarium virginum* or *scutale* of Radulfus Jacentius, another work of much rarity, and far exceeding that of the *ship of fools* by Sebastian Brant. In all the editions of the latter, a great variety of the fools of the fifteenth century will be found. Fig. 2 is from a French translation of Saint Augustine on the city of God, printed at Abbeville 1488. It exemplifies the use of the tobacco and pipe by fools; a practice that seems to have been revived by Turkes in the time of Elizabeth.

Figures 3 and 4 in Plate VI., and fig. 1 in Plate VII., have been introduced to show the customs of female fools. Among others of this kind that might deserve notice is a very interesting one in the picture, by Holbein, of Henry the Eighth's family already mentioned.





1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.



Journal of Interpersonal Violence 27(10) 1879-1898





Journal of Management Education 35(10)





Armas Poliphas. Escudo de la Armada de 17.º de Mayo de 1800











DISSERTATION IL

CON FIGURE

GESTA ROMANORUM.



A.

## DISSERTATION

OF THE

## GESTA ROMANORUM.

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*Forgiveness like the present, however antiquated to the generality of readers, will not fail of being duly appreciated by those who take an interest in tracing the origin and progress of literary genius, which has perhaps been never more successfully, and even lucrably, employed, than in the composition of such works as combine amusement with instruction. Of these the simple and engaging apologues of many ancient writers form a considerable portion, and have always been justly and generally esteemed. This mode of conveying instruction became so attractive in the middle ages, that the ecclesiastics themselves were under the necessity of introducing narrations both historical and imaginary into their discourses, in order to acquire that degree of popularity and attention which might other-*

an amiable man and excellent character, who has been most undeservingly insulted for errors of small moment, and censured for opinions of the most innocuous kind. Even his antiquarian diligence and perseverance have been assigned, as if in a work like the history of English poetry, genius should have occupied the place of industry, and have crested those facts which honest men are content to discuss, a method not uncommon with some writers who have derived too much of their importance from the indolence and superficiality of their readers, and who are unwilling to submit to those laws of providence which partly impose on man the duty of penetrating to the mine before he be permitted to enjoy the precious metal. Such was not Watson. His taste and research will remain the admiration of future ages, when the flimsy compositions of some of his opponents shall be totally forgotten. He has effected, however imperfectly, more for the illustration of English poetry than any or all of his predecessors, or than has hitherto been accomplished for the poetry of other nations, by any man whatever.

Mr. Watson's dissertation would, no doubt, have been rendered more perfect, had he been aware of a fact which had not only escaped his



own attention, but even that of Mr. Tyrwhitt. Neither of these gentlemen, in consulting the manuscripts of the *Gesta Romanorum*, had perceived that there were two works so intitled, totally distinct from each other, except as to initials, and certainly compiled by different persons. Of that intitled of by Mr. Warton, it is presumed no manuscript has been yet described; of the other several manuscripts remain, but it has never been printed, except in some translated extracts. It will be better to postpone for the present any further mention of the latter, and to proceed to submit some additional remarks on the other. And first of its use and design.

A particular mode of instruction from the pulpit has been already hinted at, and will admit of some enlargement. Mr. Warton has mentioned one of the earliest instances of introducing *Stoop's* fables, as recorded by Vincent of Beauvais in the thirteenth century\*. Supplies of another kind were furnished to those who might be more scrupulous as to the use of profane examples, not only in this great repository

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\* p. 5. For the benefit of those who may have an opportunity of consulting the original, I observe, as Mr. Warton is indebted to the *Speculum Historiale* a corrected, which should be 16 IV. c. 14.

of pious fiction. The *golden legend*, but in multitudes of similar stories, disseminated in France *centes decies*, and composed for the purpose of countervailing the great influence which the witty and brilliant stories of the minstrels had obtained, of which they were palpable imitations both in construction and verification. Most of these were founded on miracles supposed to have been operated by the Virgin Mary. The earliest known specimens of them were composed in the twelfth century by Eliegar Fami, a monk of St. John de Vignay at Soissons, who was soon followed by many imitators both in prose and verse<sup>1</sup>. His own work was turned into French verse by Gualter de Colant, another monk of Soissons, about 1220. A similar collection is the *Stories of the holy fathers*, chiefly from Saint Jerome, and anonymously composed in French verse by some person whose name deserved to

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<sup>1</sup> A fine collection of these, in verse, was in the library of the Duke de la Valliere. One volume is in MS., Harl. 4406, two others in the author's possession, as well as a third in prose, beautifully printed in common type. Some of these in prose have been printed. See a notice by Raine in the *Archæol. ælæ scriptæ* tom. viii. p. 466. Specimens of them may be seen in the fifth volume of that very entertaining work the *Fables et contes* of M. Le Grand.

have been recorded on account of the great merit of the work, which would be deemed an ornament to any period, for the excellence of the poetry.

The preface of examples for the use of preachers, at the end of Henry's *Sermones* di-  
*rectus*, composed in 1418, has been already men-  
 tioned by Mr. Warton, who has given a curious  
 and correct account of that work; but he has  
 omitted to notice, that, among a multitude of po-  
 ets whom cited in it, the name of Ovid appears.  
 This practice of indiscriminate quotation became  
 afterwards very common. It was, indeed, sanc-  
 tioned by a prevailing custom, among religious writers,  
 of marshalling works of all denominations. Thus,  
 to mention only a few, Thomas Walley, a  
 Welsh Dominican friar, had published his moni-  
 tions of Ovid's metamorphoses, in the four-  
 teenth century<sup>1</sup>. The *Bestiarius*, a treatise on  
 animals, is, as well as the *Gesta Romanorum*,  
 perhaps an earlier instance. Afterwards the cu-

<sup>1</sup> There is a great deal of confusion respecting this man, some making him an English Preacher of the fourteenth cen-  
 tury. He has been mistaken for other persons of the same  
 name, and his works (as they are now well ascertained, being  
 given confounded with those of Richard Tipton and others.  
 In his Ovid he has been indebted to a preceding work by

known, but Hondius, *Romanor of the rose* was translated by Jean Mallart. Even the genre of these was modified; for the reader who may take up Casson's translation of *Jacques de Casselle*, will be grievously disappointed should he expect to find any didactic or even historical information. We are not to wonder, therefore, if on the restoration of letters, a system of morality was extracted from *Alap* and other fictions; and, accordingly, some of the early printed editions of *Alap* were published under the title of *Alapier moralisées*, and this, no doubt, led the way to the moral applications to his fables which afterwards appeared in other languages.

Among the persons who interpreted their sermons with versions of various kinds, a Cistercian monk of the thirteenth century deserves particular mention. With as much gentleness as humility, he styles himself *Guillelmus Abbaconis quondam simpliciter cordatus pauperculus clericali*.

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*Alexander Neckam*. Another allegorical work on Ovid's metamorphoses was written about 1190, by Guillelmus Rubeigius de Cisterla, and a topological explanation of them was published by Pierre Langton, about 1400. There is also a manuscript in the Royal Library of Paris, entitled *Guili metamorphosis moralizata, per Johannem Brocardum*. See *Latine new Ser.* 1552, p. 121.

ante ac contemptibilem deinde, asperitatemque rudissimam, electorum ipsius, et ubi volumus manus. He has left a volume of sermons on the Lord's prayer, with stories in every page<sup>4</sup>. In the British museum there is a very curious collection of Latin sermons, compiled about the reign of Henry the Sixth, by a person who calls himself a vicar of Magdalen college, Oxford. They abound with names from *Maecius*, *Cicero*, *Seneca*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Saint Austin*, venerable *Bede*, &c.<sup>5</sup> *Stephen Barrow*, an English Monach in the reign of Henry the Eighth, has left a similar volume of sermons preached before the university of Cambridge<sup>6</sup>.

Among the most remarkable persons of this description who soon followed, were fathers Mar-  
tin, Mallard, Bordon, Raulin, Vincent Fournier,  
Pierre de Boves, &c., whose discourses are filled  
with quotations from Virgil, Valerius Maximus,  
Apuleius, Diderot, Petrarch, and the *Gesta Rom-*

<sup>4</sup> It was printed at Paris, 1494, at Lyons, by Georges de Selve.

<sup>5</sup> MS. Harl. 5495. This manuscript contains another similar collection, and contains the most worthy of being noticed, as we have very few of the kind printed in England.

<sup>6</sup> These were printed by Wynkyn de Worde, and at Paris, without date.

sermon. Erasmus, ridiculing the absurdities of some of the theologians, mentions their practice of quoting the *Speculum Historiale* and *Gesta Romanorum*<sup>1</sup>. Schellham speaks of a copy of the latter in his possession, dated 1570, in which some former possessor had marked against many of the stories the year in which he had used them in his sermons<sup>2</sup>. Even in the eighteenth century the Italians had not left off the custom. Grayley states, that he heard a balloon preacher at Rome, who stuffed his discourse with a thousand tales, among which was that of father Philip's goose, from Boccaccio<sup>3</sup>.

There is a remarkable work to which the preachers of the middle ages appear to have been indebted, and which deserves mention here not only on that account, but also from its having hitherto remained in unmerited obscurity. This may be partly owing to its having never been printed. It is a collection of tales and fables that has been ascribed to Odo de Carbone,

1 "His verbis utitur aliquis et videtur fidem, ut *Speculum Historiale*, vel *Gesta Romanorum*, in verbis et adverbis, et personis interpretatur allegorice, sapienter, et magister." *Stulticie lues*. Basil. 1780, tom. p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal de Trévoux*, t. 103.

<sup>3</sup> *Obit* at July, n. 128.

Shanon, or Chington, for all these names are mentioned, a Clerician monk of the twelfth century. In one manuscript they are called *parvuli*, and given to Hugo de Sancto Victore, of the monastery of Saint Victore at Paris, and who lived much about the last named period<sup>2</sup>. There is perhaps no task more difficult than that of ascertaining the real authors of many works of the middle ages, especially where, as in the present instance, there occurs any thing unusual against religious abuses. The evidence with re-

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<sup>2</sup> This MS. is in the author's possession, it well is entitled of the same work with considerable variation. A third is in the library of the Royal Society, No. 194, and there inserted in *Lib. de Carion*. Concerning the person, who was tutor in theology to the celebrated John of Salisbury, see *Edm. Serje. Brydson*, vol. i. p. 214. edit. 1823. *Tucker*, *Edm. Serjeonius Brydson*, p. 216. A great deal of confusion, and yet not more than is often found on similar occasions, has been made concerning this work and its author. It has been confounded with a moral treatise on natural history called *De animalibus*, from which it is totally different. If the reader be desirous of purchasing himself with further inquiries concerning this subject, he may consult *Peterson*, *Edm. and not*, i. 98, it is 458. edit. 1794. *Cave*, *Script. eccl.* p. 573. *Fluo*, p. 346. There is another similar but anonymous work among the *Hist. MSS.*, No. 119, that has some titles not in the others, and wants many in both.

spect to authorship is in favour of the Englishman, because in some of the stories English sentences are found. Nor do the sentences against the clergy exhibit in the least against ecclesiastical manufacture. Numerous instances could be brought to show the satirical spirit of the clergy, frequently towards each other, and generally against the church of Rome.

The work in question is an extraordinary mixture of *Allegian* fables with pious and profane histories in great variety. One or two specimens have been already given<sup>1</sup>, but the reader may not regret the trouble of perusing the following in addition. "There is a kind of wren, named after Saint Martin, with very long and slender legs. This bird sitting one day in a tree, in the fallow of his pride suddenly exclaimed; 'It matters not to me though the heavens fall; for with the aid of my strong legs I shall be able to support them.' Presently a leaf fell upon the foolish beaver, who immediately flew away in great terror, exclaiming, 'O Saint Martin, Saint Martin, help your poor bird!'" The second compares Saint Peter denying Christ to this wren, which it also undertakes to punish

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 320, vol. ii. p. 321.



pot-villans soldiers, who boast, in their cups, that each of them can beat three of the stoutest Frenchmen. Again,—“hengen the wulf, so expate his sin, become a monk. His brethren endeavored to teach him his letters, that he might say *Pater noster*; but all that they were able to get from him was, ‘*lamb, lamb.*’ They told him to look up to the cross, but could never make him turn his eyes from the sheep. In like manner do the monks cry out for good wine, and fix their eyes on dainty viands and full trenchers; whence the English proverb, *If wile that the wylf were the great worrile and he wile on to beir wilful to beir, þil is ever þæt ever eye to the woldward*.” To conclude with one more, “The wulf being dead, the lion assembled the rest of the beasts to celebrate his obsequies. The hare carried the holy water, and the hedge-hog the wax tapers. The goats tolled the bells; the badger dug the grave; the fox carried the coffin;

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\* That is, “Though the wulf come to the prison, and be set to his task to learn grammar, yet is one of his eyes ever turned towards the wood.” A similar fable is among those recorded by *Mons. de Foeray* in the twelfth century. A certain having tamed a wulf, undertook to teach him to read. “*Hear,*” says he to the scholar, “repeat after me, A.” The wulf answered A. “*Good,*” says the master, “now

Derogation the best celebrated man; the an read the gospel, and the an the epistle." Mass being finished, and hinges duly buried, the hosts partook of a splendid feast, the expense of which was defrayed out of the deceased's progeny. The parties wished for nothing better than a similar ceremony. So, says the moral, on the death of any rich man, the abbots assemble all the hosts of the monastery, for in general, the black and white monks are really hosts, that is, lords in pride; fierce in courage; bogs in glory; given to luxury; men in cloth, and have it awarded."

Besides the storehouse of this sort of knowledge that have been already described, there were doubtless many others that are now lost; but there is one that ought not to be passed over without some notice. It is the *Sermones predicantes* of John Broomyard, an English preacher, and a

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my B "The wolf said "hey, hey," for thinking he heard the bleating of the sheep, &c. &c. to the last." This episode is probably from the East: see the story of *Belshazzar and his ten wives* in the collection of the *Arabian nights'* entertainments. The other scenes to have been borrowed from the oriental and interesting romance of *Richard the Lion*, evidently composed long before the twelfth century.

violent opponent of Wicliffe. It is an immense repository of matter for the use of the clergy, every page containing stories and examples in all possible variety\*. It is divided into classes of such subjects as were adapted to the pulpit, and might have been a work of immense labour, and the result of much reading. In the article before us he has a story narrating chap. viii. of the *Gesta Romanorum*, which he probably cites under the title of *Stalpas gesta*.

Although most of these works were undoubtedly composed for the immediate purpose of assisting the preachers, it by no means follows that they were exclusively so, or that other uses might not be made of some of them. Not that they could be accessible to the lay in any great degree, inasmuch as they were wrapped up in a learned language. But the private readings of the monks would not be always of a serious and studious nature. They might be disposed occasionally to recreate their minds with subjects of a lighter and more amusing nature; and what could be more innocent or delightful than the stories of the *Gesta Romanorum*? They might

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\* Printed at Nuremberg, 1483. Paris, 1606. Recul, six times, in folio.

even have indulged in this kind of recreation during their continuance in the refectory after meals. For this purpose one of the fraternity, more eminently qualified than the rest, might entertain them with the recital of matters that would afford of some moral application to be made by the reader, or which was already attached to the subject. The word *concoctus*, so frequently to be found in the mentions, seems as much adapted to this purpose, as to the addressing of an auditory from the pulpit. Perhaps the same idea had occurred to him who chose to apply the term *liber manuscriptus* to the *Gesta Romanorum*.\*

The excellent analytical account that has been given of the work would admit of no other improvement than some augmentation of the sources of the stories, and of their several limitations; but with respect to the author of it some further inquiry may be necessary. Mr. Warton has attempted to show, with considerable ingenuity as well as plausibility, that the *Gesta Romanorum* was composed by Peter Bercheus, a native of Poitiers, and prior of the convent of Saint Eloy at Paris, where he died in 1369†.

\* *Manuscript Museum, apud Antiquarium, Arundel antiquities*.  
1. 796.

† *Spec. on the Gesta Romanorum*, p. lxxvii.

He has founded this opinion on a passage in the *Philologus* note of Solomon Claudius, who, in his chapter de *allegoria fidelitatem*, after censuring those writers who not only employed themselves in allegorizing the scriptures, but affected to discover in profane stories and political fictions certain reasons that seemed to illustrate the mysteries of the Christian faith, makes the following observation. "Hic in studio excellit quidam Petrus Berthaeus Petrusinensis, ecclesie Dei Benedicti: qui perstruit libris, *Gesta Romanorum*, actiones legendarum patrum, aliasque actiones libris, allegorice ac mystice exponit."<sup>1</sup> On this single testimony, or rather assertion, which is unaccompanied by any proof or reference to authority, Mr. Watson proceeds to assign his reasons for concluding that Berthaeus was the author of the *Gesta*, and they are principally these: 1. A general coincidence between the manner and execution of the works of Berthaeus and the *Gesta*. 2. A resemblance in their titles. 3. The introduction of some of the stories of the *Gesta* into the *Episcopus* narrative of Berthaeus.

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<sup>1</sup> The *Episcopus* or *Reluctant* narrative is an extraordinary performance for the time in which it was composed. It contains a system of moral history that may be compared with advantage, even by modern standards, but it is obscured by tedious verbiage and the grosser distortions, which

4. His having allegorized the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid; and 5. His writings being full of allusions to the Roman history. To these might have been added the quotations common to both the *Gesta* and the *Expositio* from Pliny, Seneca, Sallust, and Ciceron of Tully, and the time in which Berchardus lived, which certainly corresponds with that of the composition of the *Gesta Romanorum*, as far as can be collected from internal evidence. It may be remarked in this place, that Mr. Tyrwhitt, in supposing it to have been written at the end of the 12th, or the beginning of the 13th century, has fixed on too early a date\*. It could not have been written before 1248, because the chronicle of Albertus, which is cited in one of the chapters, terminates with that year.

It might be supposed that very little could be urged in opposition to the foregoing reasons, but it is here intended to deny absolutely that Ber-

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ney concludes from their use in exhibiting the folly of having ideas unaccompanied by judgment. The poet meant it even ironically wry, but without design. In speaking of the saint which frogs make, he compares them to the keepers, "Tales sunt custodes et admodum pocius sunt belluæ domæ, quæ custodit linguas ad amorem."

\* *Courtesy* *ibid.*, p. 311.

clear was the author of the *Gesta*; but certain doubts having arisen on the subject, they shall be submitted to the reader, that he may then be enabled to use his own judgment and discretion in deciding the question. With respect to the similitude between the works of Borchardus and the *Gesta Romanorum* no one would think of mistaking, on this ground alone, that any two compositions, the one anonymous, were written by the same author. It shows, generally speaking, nothing more than coincidence, or, what is more likely, simple imitation; and it is as probable that the author of one of the works should have imitated the other, as that one person should have written both. Perhaps the other reasons might be disposed of in the same way, but it will be better to state specific objections to them; and here Mr. Warton's own evidence might be turned against himself. He had stated on a former occasion\*, his having seen a manuscript of the *Gesta* in almost Saxon characters; but it is certain that this manuscript had doubly deceived him, and that his eye had caught one or two of the Saxon letters which continued to be used in writing long after Saxon times.

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\* Vol. ii. p. 114.

In the preface to the *Speculum morale* Berchout tells us that he was by birth a Frenchman, a Benedictine monk, and the familiar servant of Cardinal de Pruin, or Des Prez, to whom he was indebted for books and other necessities towards the completion of his works. Now throughout the ponderous tomes that have been consulted for this purpose, there are no Gallisms to be traced, nor any other symptom of French authorship. On the other hand, there are strong marks that the *Gesta Romanorum* was composed by a German. In the introduction to chapter 144, there is, in most of the early editions, a German proverb; and, in chapter 145, several German names of dogs. Many of the stories are extracted from German authors, as Gervase, Albert of Stade, and Gervase of Tilbury, who wrote his book *De stirpibus imperialis*, in Germany. In this country likewise the earliest editions of the *Gesta* were printed.

Mr. Warren, anticipating an objection that might be taken from the omission of any mention of the *Gesta* by the biographers of Berchout, has remarked, that it might have been among his smaller pieces, or proscribed by great writers, or even discarded by its author as a juvenile performance, unsuitable to his character and depend-



ing in fantastic and unedifying narration. But this description does not accord with the general use that we know to have been made of it in the pulpit; nor can it come under the denomination of a work that is not altogether grove, serious, and moral, nor likely to have been the effusion of a glowing or youthful mind. Besides, the biographers of Bouchart are not alone silent as to the *Gesta*; the editors of his printed works were entirely unacquainted with it as his composition, and they were more likely to have been better informed on the subject than Glanville, whose opinion, like Mr. Warton's, seems to have been mere inference, and unsupported by any evidence. But what is more to the point, Bouchart has himself in the prologue to his *Apertorien*, and in the preface to a French translation of *Ley*, given a very particular account of his works, among which his mentions of the *Fabule postiques*, never printed, are mentioned; yet this is certainly not the *Gesta Romanorum*, any more than the *Chronica* mentioned by Mr. Warton<sup>1</sup>. Again; most of the known works of Bouchart are still existing in manuscript, but not a single manuscript that can be pronounced

<sup>1</sup> *Disc. on the Gesta Romanorum*, p. 32.

to be the *Gesta Romanorum* in question has occurred after the most diligent research. Such indeed might be supplied from the libraries in Germany, and possibly throw new light on this difficult and mysterious inquiry. Some stress has been laid on the circumstance of four of the stories in the *Gesta* being related in the *Expositiones moralis*\*, but they are not told in the same words, and the moralizations are entirely different. This has very much the appearance of different authorship. The title of *Recherches* to some of the editions of the *Gesta*, together with many other matters, might have been borrowed from the writings of Bartsch by some German work, whose name has been irretrievably consigned to oblivion. It is scarcely worth while to mention the blunder that Foppens has committed in ascribing the composition instead of the printing of the *Gesta*, to Gerard De Leva, of Ghent in Holland†.

It remains to offer some account of the various forms in which this once popular and celebrated work has appeared; and the reader, because what has been said on this subject is, widely scattered, unconnected, and frequently erroneous.

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\* *Uti sup.* p. lxxviii.      † *Biblioth. Belgic.* l. ii. 2.

**MANUSCRIPTS.**—It is a fact as remarkable as the obscurity which exists concerning the author of the *Gesta*, that no manuscript of this work, that can with certainty be pronounced as such, has been hitherto described. If the vast stores of manuscripts that are confined in the museums and other libraries of Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and Spain, were examined, there is scarcely a doubt that some original of a work as often printed would be discovered. Father Montfaucon has indeed mentioned a manuscript *Gesta Romanorum* in the Vatican\*; but it may be either a transcript from the printed copy, or a different work under the same title, that will presently be noticed.

**PRINTED EDITIONS.**—The titles of these are different, and are as follows :

- No. 1. "*Incipit legendaria collectio ex gestis romanorum et quatuordecim libris romanis apocryphicis continens.*"  
The colophon, "*In eo est finis.*"
- No. 2. "*Incipit liber de uicibus regis regis principaliter collectis ex gestis romanorum et quatuordecim libris uicibus regis cum translationibus continens.*"  
The colophon, "*In eo est finis.*"

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\* *J. Biblioth. MSS.* tom. i. p. 17. No. 173.

No. 3. "Ex gestis romanorum hystoria notabiles de vicijs  
vicijs et virtutibus tractatus cum applicationibus moralibus  
et vicijs et virtutibus notabiles."

The edition. "Gesta romanorum cum quibusdam  
historiis notabilibus et tractatibus de vicijs et virtutibus  
notabiles. Quod diligenter correctum et notis et  
commentis Johannis de Wicopibus fecit."

No. 4. "Handboeken van gesten romanorum cum  
placibus applicatis historijs."

No. 5. "Ex gestis romanorum hystoria notabiles collecta de  
vicijs et virtutibus tractatus cum applicationibus  
moralibus et vicijs et virtutibus notabiles." (manuscript  
title given)

The edition. "Ex gestis Romanorum cum placibus  
applicatis hystoria de vicijs et virtutibus et vicijs et  
virtutibus notabiles et vicijs et virtutibus notabiles."

It is impossible to speak with certainty as to  
the first edition, on account of the omission of  
dates, places, and printers' names in some of the  
early copies. There are two editions so circum-  
stanced, with the titles No. 3 and 5, in folio,  
and containing 122 chapters only. There is a  
third printed without date, by Nicolas Ketscher  
and Gerard de Leempt at Utrecht, in folio, with  
152 chapters, to which Lucilius has incorrectly  
assigned the date of 1434<sup>1</sup>. One of these three  
is probably the first edition. They are all more-

<sup>1</sup> *Recherches sur l'origine de l'imprimerie*. Bruxelles,  
1816, fol. p. 345.

sively rare, and a copy containing 131 chapters only would not easily be found in this country.

Of the editions without date, place, or printer, that contain 181 chapters, there are three, and perhaps more. One of these, in folio, is in the British museum, but imperfect. It was certainly printed with the types used by Ulrich Zell, about 1478. Two others, the one in folio, the other in quarto, were printed without date at Louvain, by John of Westphalia. He is said to have printed one edition with the date 1475, but that is probably a mistake copied from one book into another, as Lambinet assures us that the copy in the royal library at Paris has the above date, but in manuscript only\*. The following editions with dates can be spoken of with more confidence.

1. 1480, no place, nor printer. In folio.
2. 1480, at Geneva, by Gerard Lese. In folio.
3. 1481, at Hainch, no printer. In folio.
4. 1472, no place, nor printer. In quarto. This is doubtful, being taken from a book of a catalogue.
5. 1485, no place, nor printer. In folio.
6. 1486, no place, nor printer. In folio.
7. 1489, at Strasburg, no printer. In folio.
8. 1490, at Geneva, by Gerard Lese. In folio.
9. 1491, no place, nor printer. In folio.
10. 1494, no place, nor printer. In quarto.

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\* Lambinet *l'c.* p. 202.

11. 1494, at Lucca, no printer. . . .
12. 1497, no place, no printer. In quarto.
13. 1497, at Strassburg, by John Kachelbach. In quarto.
14. 1498, no place, no printer. In folio.
15. 1499, no place, no printer. In folio.
16. 1499, at Paris, no printer. In quarto.
17. 1500, at Paris, by Jean Petit. In folio.
18. 1502, at Haguenau, by Henry Goss. In folio.
19. 1502, at Paris, by Etienne Regnault. In folio.
20. 1512, at Vesoul, no printer. In folio.
21. 1513, at Paris, by Jean Petit. In folio.
22. 1514, at Vesoul, by George de Beaucourt. In folio.
23. 1517, at Paris, no printer. In folio.
24. 1517, at Haguenau, by Henry Goss. In folio.
25. 1520, at Vesoul, by A. de Rodema. In folio.
26. 1521, at Paris, by Jean Petit. In folio.
27. 1524, at Rouen. . . .
28. 1532, at Lyons, no printer. In folio.

**GERMAN TRANSLATION.**—Of this only one edition has occurred, printed at Augsburg, by John Schöper, 1489, in folio.

**DUTCH TRANSLATION.**—Two editions are mentioned, the one printed at Gouda, by Gerard Leen, 1488, and the other at Zwolle, by Peter Van Os, 1489; both in folio.

**FRENCH TRANSLATION.**—It does not appear who was the author of the translation into this

language, which is entitled *Le conte\* des histoires Romanesques : marchies sur les nobles gentes faitz versandz et racourcyz chascun de ceulx entens de prose, fort agreable et moral*. It contains only one hundred and thirty-nine stories. About the year 1516, Pierre Gringore, herald to the duke of Lorraine, and the author of several *marcbies* and other works, published a book called *Les Juyssans de mere aore*, which is only a translation in prose, interspersed with verse, of some twenty or thirty stories in the *Gesta Romanorum*, with their moralisations. He has suppressed all mention of his original, and insinuated in the privilege that he was himself the inventor. This work seems to have preceded the anonymous translation above mentioned, of which it is possible that Gringore might have likewise been the author. There is another French *Gesta Romanorum* by Gaguin the historian, which has been mistaken for a translation of the *Gesta*; but it is nothing more than an extract from the history of the Roman republic. The editions of the *Floer* are, 1. without date, printed at Paris by Philip Le Noir, in quarto. 2. 1521, printed

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\* *Le conte* is used that signifies a summary.

at Paris, by Jean de la Gardie, in folio, and, 3. 1705, printed also at Paris for Denis Jacob, in quarto.

7

EARLIEST TRANSLATION.—In 1705 was published a little volume entitled, *Gesta Romanorum* : or *Fifty-five histories* originally (as 't is easily collected from the Roman records, with applications or morals for the improving use, and encouraging virtue and the love of God. Vol. I. newly and with care translated from the Latin edition, printed, A. D. M. D. C. V. This seems to be the first English translation, and the translator B. P. has remarked in his preface that most of the matters contained in his book had, as he understood, appeared already in the English tongue; and therefore he desires the reader, if he should discover a great difference in names, sense, and expression, to compare each work with the Latin copy, by which comparison he conceives it will be found that his translation is faithful. He was not aware that the preceding translation to which he alludes had been made from a different work. The stories are here extracted without attention to the original arrangement, but with a reference in each to the Latin copy. The editor, whoever he was, designed an



extension of his labours to other volumes. Next followed an edition of the same work, without date, 18mo, but printed about 1750. It wants the references to the Latin copy, and the former preface is straddled. It contains fourteen additional stories that do not belong to the original *Gesta*. Of this another edition, with the language much altered, was printed in 1755, 18mo, with the same number of stories. The editor signs himself A. B. perhaps Bettenham the printer.

It is now time to proceed to the description of another *Gesta Romanorum*, and which has indeed been the principal cause of the present dissertation. This work was undoubtedly composed in England in imitation of the other; and therefore it will be necessary for the future to distinguish the two works by the respective appellations of the *original* and the *English Gesta*.

It is remarkable that neither Mr. Tyshe nor Mr. Warton, both of whom had frequent occasion to inspect the work in question, and to notice certain variations between what they have seen loosely termed the printed copies and the manuscripts, should not have perceived that the

later was in reality a different performance. Mr. Tyrwhitt indeed, for want of this perception, has made use of certain English features in the manuscripts as an argument to prove that the original *Gesta* was composed in England<sup>1</sup>.

From the great celebrity of the original *Gesta*, it could not fail of being known to the English clergy, and accordingly we find that it was used by them in the pulpit as in other countries. If the numerous volumes of the sermons of the middle ages that still remain in our college and cathedral libraries were examined, a task by no means here recommended, it would, no doubt, be found, that they had been indebted to it among other similar authorities for many of their examples; and to show that this is not a mere conjecture, there is a collection of ancient sermons in the British museum that affords a solitary instance of the introduction of a story from the original *Gesta*<sup>2</sup>. It is the thirty-ninth story, of two brothers at enmity with each other. Though anonymous, there is no doubt that these sermons were composed by some Englishman, who has cited a multitude of authors, and among other

<sup>1</sup> *Ess. edn.*, IV. 311.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. No. 1095.

narrates the well-known story of the Jew who refused to be delivered from a pikes hole which he had fallen on the sabbath day.

. It is natural to suppose that a work like the original *Gesta* would stimulate some person to the compilation of one that should surpass it; and accordingly this design was accomplished at a very early period by some Englishman, in all probability a monk. There is a considerable difficulty even in forming a conjecture as to the precise time in which this was done. One of the earliest manuscripts appears to have been written about the reign of Richard the Second, nor is there any internal evidence in this work that places its composition below that period. That its purpose was similar to that of the other is manifest from its being quoted no less than five times in a collection of sermons by a preacher at Magdalen college already mentioned, who has likewise introduced the *ordinaciones* generally in the very words of his original. If additional proofs were wanting of the English origin of the work before us, it might be stated, 1. That no manuscript of it appears to exist in any of the catalogues of continental libraries; whereas there are many of those

of this country<sup>1</sup>. 2. That in one of the chapters there are some English words<sup>2</sup>, and in another some English proper names<sup>3</sup>. 3. That it has a few English scenes and modes of speech, as parliament, array of arms, &c.

The construction resembles that of the original *Gesta*, from which a great many stories have been retained, but these are always newly written, and sometimes materially altered. The translations are uniformly different, and the proper names generally changed. The best manuscripts contain one hundred and two stories, out of which there are upwards of forty that are not in the original work, some of which have been ever printed in the *Lives* of the *Gesta*, and but few of them in an English translation. The sources from which many of them were taken cannot easily be traced, whilst others are extracted from works that will hereafter be mentioned.

In the following analysis of the additional stories to this *Gesta*, the plan of Mr. Warton has

<sup>1</sup> There may perhaps be one exception in the *Yvain* MS mentioned below in p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Har. 2279, chap. 23.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Har. 5249, chap. 26, but in most of the MSS. chapters omitted.

been adopted. Though it should fail in exciting much pleasurable sensation in the reader, it may at least serve to throw a ray or two of light on the manners of the middle ages. The arrangement of the chapters is from MS. Harl. 4379, but the copy used is one of equal value in the author's possession. The variety in these is very considerable.

CHAP. I.—The emperor Amichaus bore a silver shield with five red roses. He had three sons equally beloved by him. His continual wars with the king of Egypt had reduced him so low, that of all his temporal goods only a single tree remained. Being mortally wounded in one of his battles, he called his sons before him, and bequeathed to the eldest all that was under the earth and above the earth belonging to the tree; to the second, all that was great and small in it; and to the youngest, all that was wet and dry in it. On the king's death a dispute arose between his sons concerning the possession of the tree, which by mutual consent was referred for decision to the king of Rome. He caused all the young men to be blind, and ordered that a bone, taken from the breast of their dead father, should be dipped in the blood and afterwards washed. The blood of the two elder sons was easily dis-

changed, but that of the youngest remained. The king declared that he was of the true blood and nature of the horse, and the others barbed; to him therefore the tree was adjudged.

CHAP. VI.—The emperor Diocletian, desirous to know what bird had the greatest affection for its young, goes into a wood and returns to his palace with an owl's nest, which he places under a glass vessel. The dam follows him, and finding it impossible to get at her offspring, proceeds to a desert where she remains thirty-four days, and then comes home with a worm called *Thamar*; this she kills on the vessel, which being broken by the blood of the animal, her young ones are set at liberty. At this conduct of the bird Diocletian expresses much pleasure.

CHAP. VII.—The emperor Gratian, reflecting on the vanities of the world, resolves to find a situation where there is nothing but happiness. He leaves his kingdom, and meets a beautiful woman who had lost her husband. She offers him marriage, and abundance of wealth; but on inspecting the nuptial chamber, the emperor is shocked and disgusted at the appearance of several serpents and a lion that threaten him with destruction. The lady informs him that he may

possibly survive a night or two, but that the animals will afterwards devour him, as they had her husband. The emperor declines the honour of this marriage, and proceeds to another country, where the nobles are desirous to elect him king in the room of their deceased monarch; but finding a bed-chamber like the former, he hastily departs, and arrives at a third place, where he is offered the kingdom on similar terms. At length he meets an old man, sitting near a ladder with three steps raised against a wall. He is interrogated as to his wishes, and answers that he sought three things, viz. joy without sorrow, abundance without want, and light without darkness. He is desired to ascend the ladder, when he finds what he had wished for, and continues on the spot during the rest of his life. This is, in substance, the 101st story in the other *Gesta*, but here related with much variety.

CASE. XXII.—A knight falls in love with Agla, the daughter of the emperor Polonius, and being obliged to be absent in the holy land for seven years, the lady agrees not to marry till his return. In the mean time the emperor promises his daughter to the king of Hungary, who being deeply in love with her, consents, at her

request, to postpone the marriage. On the day before the appointed time, the king of Hungary, riding to the emperor's court in great pomp to celebrate his nuptials, is met by the knight, with whom he enters into conversation, and a violent rain coming on, the king's fine clothes are presently spoiled. The knight remarks that he should have brought his horse with him. The king is struck with the singularity of the admonition. They arrive at a deep river, and the king, plunging in with his horse, is nearly drowned. The knight tells him, that he should have brought his bridge with him. Shortly after the king enquires what time of day it is; his companion replies that it is time to eat, and offers a cake, which is accepted. He then observes to the king that he had acted unwisely in seeking to bring his father and mother with him. As they approach the emperor's palace, the knight requests leave of the king to take another road, meaning to get to the court by a nearer way that was known to him, and stay off the lady before the king should arrive. On being asked what road he intended to take, he declares that he will speak the truth. He says, that on that day seven years he had spread a net in a certain place to which he was then going; that if he should find it broken he shall leave it,



but if whole, that he shall take it with him. The king arrives at the palace, and is kindly entertained. The emperor interrogates him concerning the particulars of his journey, and on hearing the strange observations that the knight had made, commends him as a wise man, and informs the king that by the house, he had meant nothing more than a clock; that the bridge he talked of, signified the accidents, who should have been sent before to ascertain the depth of the waters; and that by the king's father and mother, he intimated the board and wine that he should have brought with him. But when the emperor came to reflect on the meaning of the net which had been spread seven years since, he perceived that his daughter was in danger, and on commanding her chamber to be examined, found his suspicions verified. The king being deceived by the knight and the damsel, returned in disgrace to his own country.

CHAP. XVI.—This is the story of King Lear under the name of Theodosius emperor of Rome. It has been already given from the old English translation in manuscript. See the present vol. page 178.

CHAP. XVII.—Antonina made a law at Rome,

that whenever a fire happened in the city a sentinel should cry out to the people to ring all the bells, and secure the gates. A certain warrior was desirous of becoming master of the city, and, apprised of this law, consulted with his companions how it should be evaded. One advised that they should enter the city peacefully, and proclaim a general fast, at which a certain liquor should be used that would set all the guests asleep. The stratagem is adopted, the city fired, the inhabitants scared off, and not one person left to occupy with the emperor's edict.

CHAP. XXV.—A certain knight is unjustly accused before an emperor, who, when he finds that the accusation cannot be maintained, undertakes to perplex him with intricate questions, which he is obliged to answer on pain of death. Among these are, the distance of a sigh from the heart! the number of daggers of salt water in the sea! the depth of it! which are the most honourable and potent professions, &c. These are all answered satisfactorily, and the knight dismissed with commendation.

CHAP. XXVI.—A sick emperor sends into a foreign country for the physician Averroes, who cures him of his disease. This excites the

story of three other physicians, and they resolve to effect his ruin. For this purpose they deceive him into a belief that he is become leproous, and he returns with great sorrow to the emperor, to acquaint him with his misfortune. Being offered all the consolation that the emperor can afford him, he requests that he may have the use of a bath made of goat's blood. By this remedy he is restored to health; and the emperor, wondering at the suddenness with which he had been attacked, is informed by Avenches that three leproous persons of his own profession had terrified him, and thereby communicated their disease. They are immediately punished with death.

CHAP. XXVII.—*Atanay*, emperor of Rome, is fond of chess. Playing once at this game, he observed that when the men were replaced as usual in the bag the king was indiscriminately confounded with the rest of the pieces. This suggests to him his mortal state, and that he himself shall be eventually blended with others in the grave. He divides his kingdom into three parts; one he gives to the king of Jerusalem, another to his nobles, and the third to the poor. He then retires to the Holy Land to end his days in peace.

CHAP. XXX.—The emperor Anorthos proclaims a tournament, and that the conqueror shall marry his daughter after his death. Declan, a knight who excelled in arms, had two infant sons. Hearing of the proclamation, he goes one morning into a forest where a nightingale was singing very sweetly. He expresses a wish to know the meaning of the song, and an old man, suddenly appearing to him, explains it. The bird had directed him to go to the tournament, but in his way thither he is to meet with some heavy misfortune, which he is recommended to support with constancy and patience, because, eventually, his sorrow is to be turned to joy. The old man then disappears, and the nightingale flies away. Declan returns home and acquaints his wife with the adventure. She advises him to go to the tournament with herself and children; and he had no sooner finished the preparations for his journey, than his house and all his goods are consumed by fire. Not discouraged, he embarks on board a vessel, and on his arrival in the country to which he was going, the captain of the ship demands the price of his passage. The knight confesses his present inability to comply with the requisition, but promises on his return from the tournament to satisfy him fully.

The rapine, who had in the mean time conceived an improper passion for the lady, demands her as an hostage, refusing an offer of the children. The poor knight, finding no remedy, affectionately takes leave of his wife and departs in great sorrow with his children. The mariner in vain attempts the accomplishment of his purpose with the lady, and after having accompanied her to some strange country, dies. She is reduced to great misery and obliged to beg her bread from door to door. The story then returns to the knight, who, proceeding in his journey to the emperor's palace, meets with a deep piece of water, which it was necessary to cross. Not being able to carry over both the children together, he leaves one of them on the ground. On his return for his child, a lion springs from a wood, seizes the infant before he could arrive at the spot, and carries it away. He endeavours in vain to pursue the ravisher, and at length goes back to his other child. But here again his ill fortune attends him; a bear had seized it, and was in the act of carrying it to a neighbouring forest. He now gives way to his grief, and exclaims bitterly against the nightingale and her song, but resolves to proceed to the tournament. Here he has better luck, and repeatedly carries away the prize. The

emperor takes him into great favour, and places him at the head of his armies. Walking one day through a certain city, he finds a precious stone of those colours. On carrying it to a lapidary, he is informed that he possesses a great treasure; that the stone has the power of making the owner completely happy, of enabling him to find what he might have lost, and of converting his poverty into wealth, and his sorrows into joy. Soon afterwards he has occasion to raise troops for the emperor's service, and in the course of the war two young soldiers eminently distinguish themselves by their valour. As they are sitting one night at supper, they make inquiries of each other respecting their parents; and from certain marks that are detailed, they are recognized by their mother, who happens to be present. This discovery soon leads to that of their father, who is known by his wife, from a particular mark in his forehead. All the parties return to their own country, and end their days happily.

The burning of the knight's house, and the manner in which he was deprived of his children, have been borrowed from the romance of *de Amadours*\*,

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\* See Mr. Ellis's *Mineral romances*, vol. iii. pp. 112, 113.

CHAP. XXXI.—A law was made in Rome that the sentinels of the city should each night examine what was passing in all the houses, so that no private disorders might be committed, nor any thing done whereby the city should be endangered. It happened that an old knight named Jolius had married a young and beautiful woman, who, by the sweetness of her singing, attracted many persons to his house, several of whom came for the purpose of making love to her. Among these were three young men who were high in the emperor's favour. They respectively agreed with the woman for a private negotiation, for which she was to receive twenty marks. She discloses the matter to her husband, but not choosing to give up the money, persuades on him to consent to the murder of the gallants, and the robbing of their persons. This is accomplished, and the bodies deposited in a cellar. The woman, mindful of the new law that had been made, sends for one of the sentinels, who was her brother, pretends that her husband had killed a man in a quarrel, and persuades on him, for a reward, to dispose of the dead body. She then delivers to him the first of the young men, whom he puts into a sack and throws into the sea. On his return to the sister, she pretends to go into

the collar to draw wine, and cries out for help. When the sexton comes to her, she tells him that the dead man is returned. At this he of course expresses much surprise, but putting the second body into his sack ties a stone round its neck and plunges it into the sea. Returning once more, the woman, with additional arts, plays the same part again. Again he is deceived, and taking away the third body, carries it into a forest, makes a fire, and consumes it. During this operation he has occasion to retire, and in the mean time a knight on horseback, who was going to a tournament, passes by, and alights to warm himself at the fire. On the other's return the knight is mistaken for the dead man, and with many bitter words thrown into the fire, home and all. The sexton goes back to his duties, and receives the stipulated reward. A hue and cry had now been made after the young men who were missing. The husband and wife engage in a quarrel, and the murder is of course discovered.

This story has been immediately taken from *The seven men's manner*, where it forms the example of the sixth manner. The ground-work is, no doubt, ancient, and may be found, perhaps in its most ancient form, in *The little black-backed squire of The Arabian nights*. It



was imported into Europe very early, and fell into the hands of the lively and entertaining French minstrels, who have treated it in various ways, as may be seen in *Le Grand, Poissone et autres, roms*, &c., where it is related five times. The several imitations of it from The seven wise masters may be found in all the editions of *Prince Krivine*, an Italian modification of the *IF* master. It forms the substance of a well constructed and entertaining story of two friars, John and Richard, who are said to have resided at Norwich in the reign of Henry the Fifth. This is related in Heywood's *History of women* under the title of *The seven doles of Norwich*<sup>1</sup>, and has crept into Halliwell's *History of Norfolk* in a very extraordinary manner, unaccompanied with any comment, but with the addition of the murderer's name, who is unaccountably stated to be Sir Thomas Eryngbam, a well known character<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> P. 225, *folio cxi.*

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 247. Mr. Gough speaks of it as separately printed. See *Tower* ii. 57. It is also copied in Burton's *Reparabellid version*, p. 419<sup>a</sup>, *also* *Wals.*, *Wals.*, and *The gentleman's magazine*, vol. i. p. 115. It has been twice reprinted: 1. anonymously, under the title of *A tale and song after the press, or the convent, a tale*, 1735, 4to; vol. 2, by Mr. John I. under that of *The knight and priest*, 1763, 4to. *and again from the J. Johnson, Ant. - but never better than those of Heywood.*

In the Bodleian Library there is an old English poem entitled, *A merry jest of Dame Alice maid of Lincolne, and how he was fawne times thrie and once longer*. Printed at London by I. Alde, in 4to, without date. This is probably the same story, which has certainly been borrowed from one of those related by the Norman minstrels<sup>1</sup>.

CHAP. XXII.—Folliculus, a knight, was fond of hunting and tournaments. He had an only son, for whom three nurses were provided. Next to this child he loved his father and his greyhound. It happened one day that he was called to a tournament, whither his wife and domestics went also, leaving the child in a cradle,

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<sup>1</sup> The curious reader may also consult the following authorities, where he will find the above story in some shape or other. *Perceval, Histoire poëme Bretonne, chap. lxxviii.* *Barzoum, Folliculus et autres*, li. 122. The first novel of Marquise de Surpente, *Parceval sans M. v. fol. 40.* *Perceval de Tinnocle*, pte. 1. *Chapitre de monde chevaleresque*, 1896, liane, comp. 1228. *Gaithen Conte Perceval*, in the story of *Le Chevalier de Demas*. *Mémoires de l'Académie*, tom. 1, pp. 2-122. *Belchès sans et courtoisie*, tom. 1, p. 14. *Ball. de Du Verrier et Le conte de Maris*, par Juvénal, tom. 1, p. 125. *Perceval's Ance*, or *Alister Alister's adventures*, p. 11; and *Alister's Ance of Alister*, in *Scott's Old plays*, vol. vii, p. 146.

the greyhound lying by him, and the falcon on his perch. A serpent that inhabited a hole near the castle, taking advantage of the profound silence that reigned, crept from his habitation, and advanced towards the cradle to devour the child. The falcon, perceiving the danger, fluttered with his wings till he smote the dog, who instantly attacked the intruder, and after a fierce conflict, in which he was sorely wounded, killed him. He then lay down on the ground to lick and heal his wounds. When the nurses returned they found the cradle overturned, the child strewn out, and the ground covered with blood as well as the dog, who they immediately concluded had killed the child. Terrified at the idea of meeting the anger of the parents, they determined to escape, but in their flight fell in with their mistress, so whom they were compelled to relate the supposed murder of the child by the greyhound. The knight soon arrived to hear the sad story, and, incensed with fury, rushed forward to the spot. The poor wounded and faithful animal made an effort to rise, and welcome his master with his accustomed fondness; but the enraged knight revolved him on the point of his sword, and he fell lifeless to the ground. On examination of the cradle the in-

that was found alive and unhurt, and the dead serpent lying by him. The knight now perceived what had happened, lamented bitterly over his faithful dog, and blamed himself for having depended too hastily on the words of his wife. Abandoning the profession of arms he took his leave and three pages, and vowed a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where he spent the rest of his days in peace.

This tale is likewise borrowed by the compiler of the *Gesta*, from the Seven wise masters, and of oriental construction. It is originally in Pilpay's fables, being that of *The Saviour and the Broken pitcher*\*.

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\* This fable is only to be found in *Mons. de Candolle's* translation, book V; *Gesta* and the English version having no more than the first 2 books. It occurs also in that exceedingly rare and curious work the *Devotional note book*, printed in Germany, without date, place, or name of printer, at the end of the fifteenth century, and is in essence, the *Novel* philosophy of Bona, part I. p. 64, in the English translation of which, printed by Gough, 1773, 4to, it has been copied. It is also in *Barth's Specimen operum Andreæ*, 1657, 12mo, p. 129. The two last works are in fact the fables of Pilpay under different forms, or rather the *Heropades* of Venetian fables, the *Hebrew fables*, who appears to be the parent of all.

The same story occurs likewise in the following works,

There is a very extraordinary tradition in North-Wales of an incident resembling that in our story having happened to prince Llewelyn about the year 1165. He is said to have erected a tomb over his faithful dog, still known in Carmarthenshire by the name of *Gilbert's grave*.<sup>1</sup> This tradition is the subject of an elegant ballad by the honourable Mr. Spencer, privately printed in a single sheet, under the title of *Busk Gilbert, or The grave of the greyhound*. At Aberystwyth priory church there is said to be the figure of an armed knight with a dog at his feet; and with this person, whoever he was, the story of Gilbert has also been connected. But the dog, as well as other animals, is frequently found at the feet of figures on old monuments. On the whole, the subject appears not unworthy of the consideration of Welsh antiquaries. It would be

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*Le Grand, Histoire d'ecosse*, tom. ix. p. 165. *Manerius, Dux scotti*, poem. p. 107 l. 1. *Les fastes des prêtres*, p. 307. *LeStrange's MSS.*, vol. i. fol. 151, 152, 153. *Welsh miscellany*, 1806, p. 72, from the *Apur* branch of *Manerius*, which seems to have been extracted from, or at least much resembled, the account which forms the seventh chapter in the *Directorium hominum vite*.

<sup>1</sup> *James's History of the Welsh lords*, p. 72, where there is an old Welsh song, on Gilbert and the subject.

proper however, on any such occasion, to bear in mind the numerous applications of circumstances altogether fabulous to real persons; one example of which has occurred in the story itself the *Gesta* that immediately precedes the present.

It may be thought worth adding that Virgil's *Original Gest* resembled in its outline, as given by Donatus, the story in the *Gesta*. A shepherd there falls asleep in a marshy spot of ground; a serpent approaches, and is about to kill him. At this moment a goat settles on the shepherd's face, stings, and cures him. He instinctively applies his hand to the wounded part, and crushes the goat. He soon perceives that he had destroyed his benefactor, and, as the only recompense in his power, gives a tooth to his memory.

CHAP. XXXVI.—A king having selected his three sons under a celebrated philosopher, interrogates each of them as to what kind of a God he should prefer, for it was the custom of the country that every man should make his own choice on this occasion. The eldest chooses Jupiter for his power, the second Jupiter also for his wisdom, the third Mercury for his piety and mercy. The king recommends a Deity who should unite all these properties, and who is compared to Jesus Christ, &c.

CHAP. XLVI.—The emperor Alexander made a law that no man should turn a flat-fish on his plate, so as to eat the other side, under pain of death; it being nevertheless permitted him to ask three things before his execution. The son of an offender against this law saved his father's life by his ingenuity, and contrived to marry the emperor's daughter.

CHAP. XLVII.—A law was made that if any child should die, or even be hurt by the negligence of the person to whose care it were committed, such person should suffer death. A knight requested, as a reward for some services, that he might have the care of the king's son. This was accordingly granted, and the child delivered over to nurses. In their absence at a feast, a wolf entered the house and carried off the infant towards a wood. A shepherd gathering fruit in an orchard saw the affair and gave the alarm. The child was recovered, but not till it had received a bite that left a mark in its forehead. When the king had received back his son, he discovered the wound and menaced the knight with the punishment of the law. The knight asserted that he was not a God, nor able to control the effect of nature. The king maintained that the mark was not natural, but produced by accident; and the knight

at length confirmed the fact and threw himself on the king's mercy. He was only injured to the exclusive homage to the king, and taken into favour.

In the moral, God is the ruler of the law. He delivers man's soul to his pure and unspotted, to be rewarded in deeds of virtue. The ecclesiastics are the teachers, who instead of attending to their duty, frequent the worldly fairs of wickedness and vanity. The wolf is the Devil, who seduces the soul and endeavours to perditionate it into hell, but the good preacher, sitting in the shadow of the holy scriptures, gives the theme, and delivers it from the clutches of the Devil, &c.

CHAP. XLVIII.—This story has been given from the old English translation in manuscript, at the end of the notes to the *Merchant of Venice*. See vol. 5. p. 281.

CHAP. XLIX.—An emperor made a law that whoever violated a virgin should lose both his eyes. His own son is found guilty of the crime, and the emperor, notwithstanding the entreaties of his nobles, enforces punishment, but commends as a deed the loss of sight with the aggressor.

CHAP. L.—This story is in the other *Gesta*, but differently related. A king on some do-  
VOL. II. F C



marriage difference with his wife, had been told by her that one only of his three sons was legitimate; but which of them was so she refused to discover. This gave him much uneasiness; and his death soon afterwards approaching, he called his children together, and declared in the presence of witnesses, that he left a ring which had very singular properties to him that should be found to be his lawful son. On his death a dispute arose between the youths, and it was at length agreed to refer its decision to the king of Jerusalem. He immediately ordered that the dead body of the father should be taken up and tied to a tree; that each of the sons should shoot an arrow at it, and that he who penetrated the deepest should have the ring. The eldest shot first, and the arrow went far into the body; the second shot also, and deeper than the other. The youngest son stood at a distance, and wept bitterly; but the king said to him, "Young man, take your arrow and shoot as your brothers have done." He answered, "Far be it from me to commit so great a crime. I would not for the whole world, disfigure the body of my father." The king said, "Without doubt you are his son; and the others only bastards; so you therefore I adjudge the ring."

This story has been noticed, *The judgment of Solomon*, and is probably of oriental origin<sup>1</sup>. It is often represented in that illustration which in the ancient manuscripts of the French translation of the Bible by *Goulet des Moines* is prefixed to the proverbs of Solomon, although the story itself does not occur in that bible, nor in the original commentary by *Pierre-Comestor*. It appears to have been a great favourite in the middle ages, and was often related from the pulpit<sup>2</sup>. The original *judgment of Solomon* in the first book of Kings had probably reached the continent of India at some very early period, as it is related in the following story which occurs in one of the books belonging to the kingdom of Pagan. Two women went out together to fetch, each accompanied by her child. While they

<sup>1</sup> See Le Grand, *Solomon et son sage*, n. 466, who quotes the Targum as the source of the story.

<sup>2</sup> See the example at the end of the *Sermones de populo*, 11-12. In R. The *Sermones de populo* (Gutenberg, 1474), 11mo, sig. V. 2 b. An ancient collection of Latin sermons the first of which is the story of Solomon's judgment was extremely common, at the end of The *chosement de l'écriture*, 1482, 12mo, p. 10, the author of which cites the *Prophetarum Admonitio*, a German preacher about 1480, and *Bartholomæus Dipschidius* sermons, p. 11.

were in the water, the children being left on the bank of the river, an alligator seized one of them and carried it away. A dispute arose between the women for the possession of the remaining infant, and they at length agreed to go before the judge. To determine the controversy the judge ordered one of the women to lay hold of the child's head, and the other of its heels, and thus to pull for it. In the course of the struggle, the child was hurt, and cried out; one of the women instantly quitted her hold, and the other carried off the prize. The judge ordered her to be brought back, and told her that as she had manifested so little compassion for the sufferings of the child, she could not possibly be its mother. The infant was restored to the other woman.<sup>1</sup> There is another ingenious adaptation by the emperor Claudius, scarcely inferior to Solomon's.

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<sup>1</sup> *These Adventures in India* by John Marshall, beginning Sep. 11th. 1807. preserved among the Harleian MSS in the British museum, No. 6210. The above passage appears to have been a very curious and intelligent translation, and many of his observations on the manners of the Indians would be exceedingly well worth publishing. Marshall was educated at Cambridge, had a great desire to travel, and by the opinion of Lord Grenville, went out 1807, on the Embassy to the Deccan, in the company's service.

A woman had refused to acknowledge her suit; and, the arguments on each side being doubtful, Claudius ordered that the parties should be married. The mother was compelled to a confession. See *Sueton. in Claud. cap. 13.*

CHAP. 11.—Archilius, a Roman emperor of an elegant person and lofty stature, was desirous to have a shirt made by the hands of a pure and spotless virgin, in such a skilful and subtle manner as to prolong the duration of his life. After the utmost search no such virgin could be found, or at least, says the story, no female whose talents were competent to the task. Some time afterwards the emperor walking in his orchard, and meditating on the above matter, was accosted by a certain person who told him that he believed there was one young woman residing in the country who was in all respects capable of performing what he desired. A messenger was immediately dispatched by the emperor on this pleasing mission, with instructions to seduce the lady most honourably on his part, and to present her with a particular piece of cloth three inches only in length and breadth, and to request that she would convert it into the shirt required; with a promise that if she succeeded, she should become his wife. The messenger faithfully exe-

rated his instructions ; but when the damsel saw the cloth, she told him that it was impossible with such a quantity to make a shirt that would fit the emperor in the manner required, but undertook notwithstanding to make one according to the best of her stuffs. When the emperor heard the answer he sent a pure and handsome vessel to the lady, in which she manufactured a shirt that gave him satisfaction. He performed his promise and married her. This very silly and obscure story is allegorized into the miraculous conception of the Virgin Mary.

CHAP. LIX.—Is also in the other *Geste*, but here related with much greater variety of circumstance, and in all respects improved. The story has been very properly termed by Mr. Warton, a beautiful one ; but he has not been equally accurate in his statement that “ Godfrey has literally followed the book before us (i. e. the original *Geste*), and has even translated into English verse the translation annexed.” Godfrey’s immediate model was our English *Geste* ; nor is it improbable that he might even be the translator of it ; the translation also is entirely different <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> The title of Godfrey’s poem may be seen at MS. Reg. 17 D. 10 with the translation, quoted by Boscawen, who has otherwise modified the poem.

Mr. Watson has omitted to notice that this story corresponds with that of *Fortunatus*; which, unless itself of oriental origin, might have been taken from it<sup>1</sup>.

CHAP. LVII.—An emperor who had only a daughter, hunting one day in a forest, lost his way, and was obliged to seek shelter in the cottage of a hermit. He was kindly and hospitably received, and after taking some refreshment, retired to rest without disclosing to the man who he was. As he lay in bed he thought he heard a voice that said to him, “take, take, take;” presently after, another that cried, “give, give, give,” and then a third that still more emphatically pronounced these words, “fly, fly, fly; for this night a child is born who shall succeed to your empire.” When he awoke in the morning, he enquired of the hermit if any child had been born during the night, who informed him that his wife had just been delivered

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<sup>1</sup>One reason for supposing it might have originated in the East is that it forms the subject of one of the old French *chansons*, many of which come in with the *Chronique*. See *Recueil, Chans. des MSS. de Berne*, iii. 119. It has been likewise noticed by La Harpe in his *Prod. de son*. Some traces of resemblance may be found in the stories of *Alamel*, and the *enchanté baron* in the *Arabian nights entertainments*.

of a son. The emperor then discovered himself, examined a mark on the child's forehead, and told the men that he should send for it the next day, as he designed to have it bred up at his court. On his return home he directed some confidential servants to take away the child from the farmer's cottage, to put it to death, and to bring back its heart, that he might be satisfied that his orders were obeyed. A contention arose among the domestics about destroying the infant<sup>20</sup>, and one more humane than the rest, proposed the killing of a pig in its stead, and delivering the heart to the king. This was at length acceded to by the others. The child was wrapped up in some linen, and placed in a hollow tree for present safety. When the emperor received the supposed heart of the child he cast it into the fire, and mocked the idle dreams that had haunted him. Shortly after, as an owl was hunting in the above forest, the dogs discovered the child, which was taken home and committed to the care of the earl's wife, whom he prevailed on to acknowledge it as their own, and to give out that she had just been delivered of it. When thirteen years had elapsed

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<sup>20</sup> This incident has been introduced into the popular old ballad of *The children in the wood*.

from this time, the emperor proclaimed a great feast, to which, among others, the earl was invited, who carried the boy with him as a squire to attend his person. When the youth came into the presence of the emperor, the latter instantly perceived the mark on his forehead, and in great anger interrogated the earl so strictly that he confessed the manner in which he had discovered the child. But the emperor's indignation was still more excited against the servants whom he had employed. He sent for them and commanded them on their oaths to speak the truth. The emperor, now satisfied of the identity of the youth, informed the earl that he should remain here at his court, and that he himself was at liberty to return home. It happened that at this time the empress was in a foreign kingdom with her daughter. The emperor therefore sent the youth to her with a letter in which he commanded her to cause him to be put to death in the most cruel and ignominious manner. In the prosecution of his journey, the poor young man came to the castle of a knight whom he hastily entreated to afford him lodging; and being hospitably received, laid himself down to sleep, placing near him a box in which he had deposited



the letter. The knight accidentally seeing the box, became anxious to know its contents; and having opened it immediately perceived the emperor's signet. This he very carefully put aside, and reading the letter, was moved with compassion for the youth. He immediately resolved to save his life, and substituted another letter, in which the king was made to direct the empress to marry her daughter to the young man with great solemnity, and to detain him with her until he should himself arrive. The letter was delivered to the empress, and she supposed directions of the emperor complied with. The youth by his deportment engaged the affections of all. Sometime afterwards the emperor resolved to visit the empress, and on his arrival she went out to meet him accompanied by her children. As soon as the emperor saw the young man, he again recognised him, and, beholding his wife with looks of fury and indignation, he demanded of her why she had omitted to obey his commands. She maintained that they had been obeyed by the marriage of the youth to their daughter, who then stood before him, and, as she perceived, with child. The anger of the emperor was now mitigated, and he exclaimed, "The will of the

Lord be done, for I see it is in vain to oppose it." He shared his children with great affection, and they succeeded happily to his throne.

CHAP. LXXI.—Cornelius seduces an emperor's daughter, murders her infant, and abandons her. The emperor expostulates in no purpose. He then produces a tournament in which the wicked knight is overcome. The princess is brought back to her father.

CHAP. LXXII.—An emperor in his old age foolishly married a young wife, who carried on an intrigue with a certain knight. He resolved to make a journey to the Holy land, and, setting out immediately, left his kingdom in the custody of the empress and his nobles. The captain of the ship in which he embarked, having received a large bribe for the purpose, threw the unfortunate emperor into the sea, and returned home with the news of his death, to the great joy of the wicked empress. The old monarch, who had been a good soldier from his youth, fortunately reached an island which he found inhabited only by wild beasts. The third day after his arrival, he saw in a wood a young lion fighting with a strong and full-grown leopard; and compassionating the lion, who was nearly overpowered by

- his adversary, he drew his sword and killed the leopard. The grateful lion remained with him, and every day brought him as food some animal that he had hunted, which the emperor dressed by means of a fire that he contrived to make. After some time had elapsed, as he was one day walking on the shore, he perceived a ship, and making signals of distress, was taken on board. The faithful lion plunged after him into the sea, and swam by the side of the vessel, till some of the sailors, perceiving that he was exhausted with fatigue and about to sink, lifted him into the ship. On the emperor's arrival in his own kingdom he handsomely rewarded the captain, and proceeded to his palace accompanied by the lion. When he arrived there, he heard the sound of musical instruments, and perceived other demonstrations of joy. On enquiry he learned that the empress had been just married, and that his subjects believed he had perished in his voyage to the Holy Land. He then applied to one of the chamberlains of the palace to report him to the new emperor as a minister newly arrived, and to request that he might be permitted to entertain him with the tricks of his lion. He was ordered to appear before the new sovereign; whom the lion no sooner beheld than he instantly took him in pieces,

and immediately afterwards the emperor. The nobles, astonished at what they saw, were now preparing to make their escape, when the emperor discovered himself, and desired them to lay aside their fear, as the vengeance of God had been accomplished. After relating his adventures, he resumed his government.

CHAP. LXX.—*Julia*, a worthy king, was married to the king of Arabia's daughter, who had vowed she would unite herself to that man only who had obtained the victory in all his battles. Walking one day in his garden he saw it written in a star, that he should undertake as many wars for the love of Christ as he had for that of his lady, to whom he communicated the vision. She was extremely afflicted at the news, and threatened to destroy herself and the infant in her womb, but was comforted by her husband with a promise of returning, as soon as he had conquered all the enemies of Christ. He then departed in company with *Tifen*, a valiant knight to whom he was attached, and they shortly arrived in Ethiopia. The king desired his friend to remain there, and subdue the country, whilst he should accomplish other conquests. *Tifen* requested of the king that he would send him occasional tidings of himself, and directions how to act in

his absence. This was promised; and the knight received at the same time a ring from his master, as a pledge whereby to remember him. The king took his departure, and went to the Holy Land. In his absence a certain tyrant named Acharen, made war against Tirias; and finding it impossible to subdue him, accused him of treason to the king of Ethiopia, who deprived him of all his possessions, so that he became very poor and was obliged to beg his bread. John soon afterwards returned from the Holy Land to Ethiopia, in the character of a pilgrim, and by chance met Tirias, whom he immediately recognised, but retained himself unknown. He put many questions to his friend who related to him his misfortunes, and added, that he was in daily expectation of the speedy return of his own sovereign, whose token he still preserved, and whom he described as the better half of his soul. John told him that he had travelled for an account of the loss he also bore to the same person; that he was exceedingly fatigued, and requested of him to sit down that he might repose his head on his bosom. Tirias answered, that he would do this and much more for him. While John was asleep, a white vessel issued from his mouth, and proceeding towards a mountain, walked round it.

It then returned, and again entered the mouth of the king. Erism wondered much at this, and when the king awoke was interrogated as to what he had seen. Josias, on being informed, said, "Let us go to the mountain, perhaps we may behold more wonders." On their coming to a hollow place in the mountain, they found a dragon lying dead, with a large quantity of gold in its belly, and a sharp sword, on which was inscribed, "By my power, and with the king's assistance, the knight Tului shall once more possess his lands." Josias then discovered himself to his friend, who fell on the ground and kissed his feet. The king gave all the gold to Tului, but reserved the sword for himself, and commanded the knight not to disclose who he was until they should have accomplished their purpose. Josias then proceeded in his pilgrim's habit to the king's palace, where he found the great Ascheton, and sat himself down before the largest table. The king enquired of him whence he came and what tidings he brought. The pilgrim answered, "I come from the Holy Land, where many persons recommend your soul to Christ for having despoiled a worthy knight of his lands, on the lying accusation of a tyrant." Ascheton then exclaimed, "Why hast thou sit-

need these things; I would then were able to defend myself, that I might fight with thee." The pilgrim requested leave to accept the challenge, which the king granted, and promised that if he obtained the victory he should not only receive all the lost lands of the knight, but he made the second man in his kingdom. The day of battle was appointed, and the combatants respectively maintained the contest with considerable valour. At length Achéron, exhausted with fatigue, was about to yield, when he said to the pilgrim, " You are doubtless a generous adversary, I die with thirst; suffer me to go once to the river and drink." The pilgrim acquiesced on the like conditions for himself. When Achéron had quenched his thirst, his strength returned; he renewed the combat with vigour, and James, in his turn, sorely pressed, requested permission to drink. His treacherous enemy not only refused him, but compelled him to fight his way to the water, into which he plunged and smothered his thirst. Having recovered his strength, the battle was continued till the evening; and when Achéron was once more about to yield the victory, the king parted the combatants, and appointed the next day to renew the battle. At night the king sent for the pilgrim, commended

his valour, and desired his daughter to take him under her care, and provide him with all necessaries, that he might be able to maintain the combat on the following day. The damsel then led him to a chamber; bathed him<sup>20</sup>, prepared his supper; and afterwards placed him in a bed with four feet, so that it could be easily moved from place to place. In the mean time Acharon called together his four sons, all of them robust young men; told them of the danger his life would be in if he should renew the contest with the pilgrim on the ensuing day, and prevailed with them to seize him in his chamber whilst he slept, and throw him into the sea. It happened that a fisherman from his vessel perceived by the light of the moon the floating bed, and to his great astonishment a man lying upon it. Jonas also awoke, and wondered much at seeing the stars over his head. The fisherman cried out to the king, and the king to him for assistance,

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<sup>20</sup> This was a common practice in the times of chivalry, and many examples of it may be found in ancient romances. The Indians not only resorted to bathing the knights, after the fatigue of battle, but administered proper medicines to heal their wounds. Similar customs were in the usage of the Romans. In the *Odyssey*, Polydamas, one of the daughters of Nestor, bathes Telemachus, and it appears that Helen herself had performed the like office for Ulysses.



telling him, that he was the person who had the day before been engaged in combat with the tyrant. The fisherman took him on board his vessel, and afterwards to his dwelling, where he was again put to bed. On the morrow Acharen armed himself and went to the palace, exclaiming aloud, "Bring forth the traitor pilgrim, that I may this day present his head to our lord the king." When the princess was ordered by her father to seek the pilgrim, she was astonished to find him gone, together with the bed; and when the king heard the strange news he was much grieved, for he loved the pilgrim, and detested the tyrant. The fisherman at length appeared, and related what had happened. Judas returned to the palace, armed himself, once more attacked his adversary, who was by this time quite dejected, and cutting off his head, presented it to the king. He was then desired to name the reward that he wished for, when he requested that the lands which Tircas had acquired by his valour might be again restored to him. Judas afterwards took leave of his friend, returned to his own kingdom, and ended his days in peace<sup>22</sup>.

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<sup>22</sup> The author of the second of the story is manifestly borrowed from a similar version in the chronicle of Richemont, a work of the twelfth century, from which it is in-

CHAP. LXXX.—An emperor committed the education of his only son to one of his knights, who had obtained the victory at a tournament. The child was placed in a chamber, round which the seven liberal sciences were depicted, so that when he lay awake in bed he could be gathering all kinds of knowledge. Near the bed was a fountain, in which the child could bathe, and beyond the fountain a window to admit the sun. It happened that a bear, finding the door open, entered the chamber and washed himself in the fountain, so that the water was much infected with his filth. The knight and his wife soon afterwards drank of the fountain, and became leprous. An eagle also flew in at the window, and carried off the king's son. At length a skillful physician was consulted, who cured the parties of their leprosy, and instructed them how to recover the child.

CHAP. LXXXI.—A king hears the song of a nightingale. He is desirous of knowing what it means; and, applying to a wise knight, is informed that it directs him to seek three things, viz. joy without sorrow, abundance without want,

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related in *Wieners Die jenseitige Jerusalem*, lib. i. cap. 14, under the name of the devil.

and light without darkness. The king sets out in pursuit of them, and arrives in a kingdom where the sovereign was just dead, leaving his throne to his son. She becomes enamoured of the royal traveller and offers him marriage. Here the story is discontinued, but the narrator refers to chap. ix. as containing the same matter.

**CHAP. LXXVI.**—In the castle of an emperor was a fountain, the water of which had the property of curing drunkenness. To this vice, which the emperor particularly detested, one of his knights, named Ydroneus, was much addicted; but whenever he perceived the consequences of his intemperance, he repaired to the fountain, and drinking a hearty draught, recovered himself in such a manner that the emperor, who was extremely attached to him, had never yet discovered his failing. It happened that the emperor had found a bird in his forest which sang so sweetly, that, being fond of novelty, he repaired daily to the spot to hear it. The particular attention which the emperor bestowed on these two favourites had excited the envy of his courtiers, among whom one slyer than the rest at length undertook their ruin. He first sealed up the fountain, so that when Ydroneus next became intoxicated he was deprived of his usual

readily; and the emperor, perceiving his condition, was filled with indignation, and instantly decreed his banishment. The insidious courtesan then retired to the forest; and watching attentively the motions of the bird, perceived that her state often came to visit her, but that in his absence she continued sociable with strange birds, and then bathing herself in an adjacent well, desired her man on his return. He therefore closed up the well, and the unfaithful bird being soon detected by her state, he tore her to pieces. The latter part of this story seems borrowed from the last chapter of the original *Gesta*.

CHAP. LXXVII.—A law was made at Rome, that no man should marry for beauty, but for riches only; and that no woman should be united to a poor man, unless he should by some means acquire wealth equal to her own. A certain poor knight selected the hand of a rich lady, but she reminded him of the law, and desired him to use the best means of complying with it, in order to effect their union. He departed in great sorrow, and after much enquiry, was informed of a rich duke who had been blind from the day of his birth. Here he resolved to murder, and obtain his wealth; but found that he was protected in the day-time by several armed domestics,

and at night by the vigilance of a faithful dog. He contrived however to kill the dog with an arrow, and immediately afterwards the master, with whose money he retained the lady. He informed her that he had accomplished his purpose; and being interrogated how this had been done in so short a space of time, he related all that had happened. The lady desired, before the marriage should take place, that he would go to the spot where the duke was buried, lay himself on his tomb, listen to what he might hear, and then report it to her. The knight armed himself, and went accordingly. In the middle of the night he heard a voice saying, "O duke, that hast here, what ailment dost thou that I can do for thee?" The answer was, "O lord, thou upright judge, all that I require is vengeance for my blood unjustly spilt." The voice rejoined, "Thirty years from this time thy wish shall be fulfilled." The knight, extremely terrified, returned with the news to the lady. She reflected that thirty years were a long period, and resolved on the marriage. During the whole of the above time the parties remained in perfect happiness.

When the thirty years were nearly elapsed, the knight built a very strong castle, and over

one of the gates, in a conspicuous place, caused the following riddle to be written :

" In my distress, nought wold I sought ;  
 But my distress wold, I held it sought.  
 The wold was rich, a lamb he seem'd to be,  
 But health never'd, the wold upon me set."

Interrogated as to the meaning of these enigmatical lines, the knight at once explained them by relating his own story, and added that in eight days time the thirty years would expire. He invited all his friends to a feast at that period, and when the day was arrived, the guests placed at table, and the minstrels straining their instruments of music, a beautiful bird flew in at the window and began to sing with uncommon sweetness. The knight listened attentively, and said, " I fear this bird prognosticates misfortune." He then took his bow, and shot an arrow into it in the presence of all the company. Instantly the castle divided in two parts, and, with the knight, his wife, and all who were in it, was precipitated to the lowest depth of the infernal regions. The story adds, that on the spot where the castle stood, there is now a spacious lake, on which no substance whatever floats, but is immediately plunged to the bottom.

CHAP. XXXII.—The emperor Maximian had no only son, on whose birth the wise men being

consulted as to his future destiny, declared that he would not live except he were brought up for seven years underground, where the light of the sun could never come. This was accordingly done, and at the expiration of the time the young prince was taken out of his subterranean confinement, and became the admiration of all men for his virtues and good disposition. In due time he was married to a daughter of the king of Hungary. At each corner of the nuptial bed was placed a little dog to watch, and near it a burning lamp, which by the emperor's special command was to be lighted only by the hands of a pure virgin. The prince coming one night into the chamber found the lamp extinguished, and made a solemn vow that he would never mount the bed until the lamp were relighted; but after many inquiries no virgin could be found for the purpose. The prince determined to make search himself, and taking affectionate leave of his wife, proceeded on his expedition. He presently encountered a lion, whose foot had been wounded by a thorn, which he extracted, and the animal followed him. Arriving at the castle of a king who had a virgin daughter, the prince fell in love with and demanded her in marriage. The king consented, on condition that he would destroy a horrible dragon, who had nearly de-

reared all the sheep and oxen in the country, and for whose future supply it would soon be necessary to draw lots in the king's own family. The prince agreed to the proposal, and waited all the period arrived when the lot had fallen on the king's daughter. He then became exceedingly terrified, but ventured to attack the dragon, who was on the point of destroying him, when she first came to his advantage, and speedily killed his adversary. The virgin was delivered to the prince, who took her home to his wife. The lamp was relighted, to the great joy of the parties, and the virgin treated with all possible kindness and attention. The dog and the lamp in this story are introduced in chap. ii. of the other *Gesta*, but the tales have nothing else in common.

CHAP. LXXX.—There was a law at Rome, that every woman at her purification should write some words on the church door, for the edification of the people, and then return home with due solemnity. The emperor on this occasion wrote, "I am a king governing the age; all the world is mine." Some time afterwards a noble lady attended by several maidens came to be purified. She inscribes on the door, "I am an infant at the breast, whose milk is wine," and



returns home to prepare a feast. The emperor is much offended and sends for her. She procures two serpents, and compels the lady to smother them, &c. The substance of this story is incorporated with the old ballad of "A warning piece to England, or the fall of queen Eleanor."<sup>\*</sup>

CHAP. LXXIII.—A city is infested with dragons and other voracious animals that destroy the inhabitants. A philosopher advises the emperor to hang a live lion on a cross, and thus terrify the other creatures from molesting the city.

CHAP. LXXIV.—A law was made, that if any one could escape from prison and fly to the king's palace he should receive protection. An imprisoned knight is visited by a bird, who leaves a precious stone, by the touch of which his fetters are loosed and he escapes, &c.

CHAP. LXXV.—A dispute arose between the three sons of an emperor respecting the succession. The nobles decided that they should run a race on horseback, and that he whose horse weighed should inherit the throne. A con-

<sup>\*</sup> Coll. of old ballads, vol. i. No. xlii.

sing across of one of the princes conceived that his master should win, by placing in the horse's way a mare that he remembered. This is the well-known story of *Darius*.

CHAP. XC.—Of a law that whoever violated a virgin without making amends to her father within a certain time should suffer death.

CHAP. XCII.—Of a madman who goes his length every day, and was poisoned by his father.

CHAP. XCIII.—An emperor falls in love with a young knight, and becoming extremely sick, the physicians inform her husband that there is no mode of cure, but the bathing her with the knight's blood.

CHAP. XCIV.—A poor man is promoted by an emperor to great honours, but soon becomes proud, and rebels against his sovereign. He is banished with his accomplices. These invite their successors to a poisoned banquet. The emperor is recommended by his son to apply to a dwarf who possesses a well with miraculous powers. By means of its water the dead men are restored to life. The prince is rewarded with a crown of gold.

CHAP. XCV.—*Josiah*, having received the

keep fire and water in his house, at a time when his fellow citizens had been plundered of these by a giant named Eolapius, is rewarded by having the education of the emperor of Rome's son committed to him. He builds a chamber for the young prince, and causes various images and inscriptions to be placed in it, which keep him attentive to his charge. He is finally promoted to great honour.

CHAP. XXVIII.—The emperor Martin had brought up his nephew Fulgentius as his page and cap-bearer; but his steward soon became envious of the young man, and resolved to effect his ruin. For this purpose he prevailed on the emperor to believe that Fulgentius had ungratefully circulated many ill reports of him, and particularly that he was leprous to such a degree that it was unsafe to approach his person or administer his drink to him. He then went to the young man, related to him that the emperor had made great complaint of the foulness of his breath, and advised him, when he performed the duties of his office, to take special care to turn his head aside. The innocent Fulgentius pursued this malicious counsel, and, the emperor's anger being excited, he struck his nephew violently on the

locust, and drove him from his presence. He then consulted with the steward how he should dispose the yards of life; and it was settled that some men who lived near at hand, and kept a furnace to burn stones for cement, should immediately be directed to throw into their fire, without the least ceremony, that person who should come early on the morrow, and desire them to fulfil the emperor's commands. Measures were then taken that Fulgentius should be the victim; but in his progress to the lime-kiln he was induced by the sound of a church bell to deviate from his road, and attend the celebration of the mass. During the service he fell asleep, and when it was finished no efforts of the priest could for a very considerable time awake him. In the mean while the steward, sollicitous to hear of the young man's death, repaired to the spot, and inquiring if the emperor's commands had been executed, was scolded by the workmen, who, in spite of all his excuses and remonstrances, threw him into the furnace. Fulgentius himself soon afterwards arrived, delivered his message, and was surprised to hear of the steward's death, and the miraculous manner in which he himself had escaped. He then returned thanks to God for his preservation, and went back to the palace.

The emperor in great anger demanded why he had not executed his command. Fulgentius related what had happened, and this leading to a mutual explanation, he was restored to his uncle's favour, and ended his days honourably. This story may have come from the East\*. It is likewise extremely well related in the *Comte de Monte et Miracles of the Virgin*†, and in other places‡.

CHAP. XXIX.—A marriage was proposed between the son of Ancharius, emperor of Rome, and the daughter of the king of Apulia. The young lady in her voyage was shipwrecked and swallowed by a whale. In this situation she contrived to make a fire and to wound the animal with a knife, so that he was driven towards the shore, and slain by an earl named Pirion, who defrased the princess and took her under his protection. On relating her story she was restored to the emperor. In order to prove whether

\* See Scott's *Tales from the Arabs and Persians*, p. 25, where there is an excellent story of similar construction.

† Le Grand, *Antiquaire*, t. 74.

‡ Comte recently noticed, tom. 52. *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie*, p. 17. *Diálogo conseruado manuscrito*, cap. 133. Marston's allusion to the reader, before his Spanish grammar, 1604, Folio.

she was worthy to receive the hand of his son, he placed before her three vessels. The first was of gold, and filled with dead men's bones; on it was this inscription; *who chooses me shall find what he desires not*. The second was of silver filled with earth, and thus inscribed; *who chooses me shall find what nature covets*. The third vessel was of lead, but filled with precious stones. It had this inscription; *who chooses me shall find what God hath placed*. The emperor then commanded her to choose one of the vessels, informing her that if she made choice of that which should profit herself and others, she would obtain his son; if of what should profit neither herself nor others, she would lose him. The princess after praying to God for assistance, preferred the leaden vessel. The emperor informed her that she had chosen as he wished, and immediately united her with his son. This is obviously the story which had supplied the caskets in the *Merchant of Venice*. See the note at the end of that play, vol. I. p. 224.

CHAP. c.—A king having in a forest lost his attendants, and is left alone. He meets a hare lion, who watches over his son to him, as if wishing assistance. The king, perceiving a thorn, extracts it, and binds up the wound with

certain herbs. Finding no way out of the wood, he is obliged to take shelter in the bear's den, where he is supplied with food by the grateful animal. After remaining here some time a bear comes to the den. The rest of the story will not admit of being told. What has been stated is evidently grafted on the well-known tale of Androcles.

CHAP. CI.—A certain emperor made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, leaving the care of the kingdom in his absence to his wife, a wise and beautiful woman. The emperor's brother not only oppressed and persecuted many of his subjects, but had even the temerity to make unlawful love to the empress. On consulting with her counsellors, they advised her to cast him into prison, which was accordingly done. Here he lay until rumours were spread of the emperor's intended return; and fearing that if his unworthy conduct were reported to his brother he should be sentenced to die, he increased many of the empress, and made such solemn promises of future good behaviour that she consented to release him. On the emperor's arrival, his wife and brother went out to meet him; but in passing through a forest, a stag springing up, diverted the attention of the domestic who accompanied them,

and they were left entirely by themselves. The wicked brother now renewed his solicitations to the empress; but receiving from her the most positive refusal of compliance, and incensed with the vengeance of her husband, he intimately tied her by the hair to a tree, leaving her pining by the side of her. He then rejoined the attendants, and pretended that a multitude of armed men had attacked him and carried off the empress. Shortly afterwards the unfortunate lady was discovered by an earl who was hunting in the forest, taken home to his castle, and by her own consent, appointed to superintend the cure of his infirm daughter. Here a certain seneschal fell in love with her, but his addresses being rejected, he determined on speedy revenge. For that purpose he contrived to get into the castle at night, and proceeding to the earl's chamber, found the empress in bed and asleep with the child. After murdering the infant, he placed the bloody knife in the empress's hand. During the night the earl's wife awoke, and perceiving by the light of the lamp what had happened, accused the empress of the murder in the most bitter terms, and entreated her husband to inflict immediate punishment. The earl, however, thought fit to spare the empress's life, and contented himself with dismissing her from his



castle. The poor lady mounted her palfrey, and had not proceeded far, when she met a robber going to execution. Her compassion led her to ransom the man by means of a sum of money; and, depending on his gratitude, she sent him before her to the next city to provide lodging and other necessaries. All the inhabitants of the place admired her beauty, and many persons in vain solicited her love. It happened that a ship arrived in the harbour of this city laden with merchandise, and the emperor dispatched her servant to the captain, requesting him to attend her for the purpose of negotiating for the articles she might want. The captain came, received her orders, and promised to send the goods; but he was also captivated with the beauty of the empress, and desired her servant to follow him. He then offered the man a large reward to make him in getting his mistress on board the vessel, that he might then have her in his power, and carry her away. The fellow consented; and, telling his lady that the captain would only permit his merchandise to be examined on board the ship, prevailed on her to accompany him thither, and she immediately became a prisoner. The vessel sailed, the commander earnestly pressed his unlawful solicitations, and threatened death in case

of refusal. The empress requested a short respite, and addressed her prayers to heaven for assistance. A tempest instantly arose, the ship sunk to the bottom, and all perished except the empress and the captain. Each of them had clung to a piece of timber, but they were cast on different shores; and the empress, without her knowledge, on that of her own country. Here she soon found shelter in a convent, and applying herself to the study of healing the sick, soon became so skilful that her fame spread throughout the land. About this time the emperor's wicked brother had become a loathsome leper; she and whose daughter had been killed was blind and paralytic; the treacherous servant became lame and gouty, and otherwise diseased; and the master of the ship had lost his reason. When the emperor heard of the lady's skill in curing diseases, he accompanied his brother to the convent, where the others had also come to be healed. The empress, preserving her disguise, informed them that she had no power of relieving them unless they previously, and in the presence of each other, made a full and solemn confession of their sins, and repented of them sincerely. This was accordingly done; and when the innocence of the empress was clearly mani-

finally, to the great and mutual surprise of all the gardeners, she first performed her pointer to the sick, and then discovered herself to the emperor. He conducted her to the palace with much joy, and they finished their days happily.

Ordway has related this story in verse from the present work<sup>1</sup>, and it is also to be found in the *Fourteen of Yittonoch*<sup>2</sup>. The outline has been borrowed from one of the *Center* deeds, or *revelations of the Virgin Mary*<sup>3</sup>. The incident of the bloody knife occurs likewise in *Chaucer's* *Misc. of Jew's tale*, and in a story related by *Gossett*<sup>4</sup>.

The author of this Gesta has been nowhere recorded; but it may be necessary on this occasion to lay before the reader part of a note prefixed to the *Merchant of Venice*, in which Dr. Farmer, has corrected one mistake, but inadvertently fallen into another. He says, "In a MS. of *Lodovico*, I find a note of two merchants of *Exeter*

[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> Jean Vincent de Boscovich, *Spécial. Générale*, III, viii, cap. 30, 31. Hénin, *Séminaire d'Alger*, par III, cartouche L de gauche à. Vercosa, vol. Le Grand, *Religions*, p. 144.

1. **Check for updates**

and of *Becket*, or *Gesta Romanorum*. Leland therefore could not be the original author as Bishop Tanner suspected. He lived a century after Lidgey.<sup>2</sup> The inference is perfectly just; but the suspicion was not Bishop Tanner's, who has only retailed that of another writer, Richard Robinson, and he in reality seems to have regarded Leland merely as a translator, as will presently appear. Dr. Farmer had been deceived by the mode of printing Robinson's words, which have much the appearance of belonging to the bishop. There would have been more probability in a conjecture that either Walfyn or Bromyard might have been the fabricator of the English *Gesta*. The translation to Ovid's metamorphoses, which the former of these persons composed, adapts him extremely well to the purpose; but though the date of his existence is, on the whole, uncertain, he seems to have lived about half a century too early, viz. towards the beginning of the fourteenth century<sup>3</sup>. From

<sup>2</sup> *Reliquiæ Britannicæ* folio p. 470.

<sup>3</sup> DeCroy, in his catalogue of Roman literature has the strange article, "*Thomas Walfyn poeta Romanorum, cum approximatione metricali in quadrato*. Paris, 1522, 22.4." *Michael post aliter Clavere*, in 78, edit 1773, 1126. It seems to require for the most extraordinary

what has already been said of Brouyard, it will appear that he was no less qualified than the others for the authorship of the work in question.

TRANSLATION.—As this work was not circulated in foreign countries, no translation of it appears to have been made in any other language than the English; and in that, not of the whole. There is a very fine manuscript in the Harleian collection, written in the reign of Henry the Sixth, containing seventy stanzas only<sup>1</sup>. In this manuscript are several pieces by Lydgate, and some tales from Gower's *Confessio amantis*. As the *English Geste* appears to have been extremely well known to both these writers, and also to Orlieu, it is by no means improbable that the above translation was made by one or the other of them. Whether it has ever been printed is another question. Mr. Warton has twice mentioned an edition without date by Wynkyn de Worde<sup>2</sup>; and Dr. Farmer has also, in a note prefixed to the *Merchant of Venice*, referred

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to it. It is certain that this book still, which is the original *Geste*, affords no evidence in support of it.

<sup>1</sup> MS. 7221. Out of the seventy stanzas there are twenty-four of the additional. The whole deserves to be printed, partly as a curious monument of the English language.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iv. p. 24, and vol. vi. p. 1222.

to the same edition. It had escaped the researches of the industrious Herbert, who has only mentioned it after Mr. Warton<sup>1</sup>, and has in vain been sought for on the present occasion. The fortunate possessor of it may have the means of ascertaining whether it be the same as the above manuscript, by referring to the notes that have been given in the present volumes at the end of the remarks on the plays of King Lear, and the Merchant of Venice.

Among the manuscripts in the Royal Library, now in the British Museum, there is one entitled "*Expliciter; Arripit et Penetrit*," that ye see. His good warfare against Sinne and his malignant spirits; his good soldierie against the flesh, the lawes and consciences thereof. And his complete battell against the world and the wickedness and wretchedness thereof. Conteyning a true catalogue of all his pere paynfull labours, translated, collected, also printed and published and presented in English, by authority. Shewing also what good Beneficence hee hache had, for mayntenance of his wyde pere study and priue, and what beneficence hee hache had otherwise from the yere of our Saryour Christe 1470,

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<sup>1</sup> *Typog. antiq.* p. 212.

until this year 1602, for 26 years. Newly written, even to the glory of God, honour of the Queenes most excellent Majesty, comfort of the faithful and conversion or instruction of their enemies. By R. Robinson, London.\* This strange work has a great number of scriptural quotations in Latin and English, in the several margins. The dedication is here given for its singularity. "*Sacrosanctæ beatiq[ue] Trinitat[is], simplici[us] inviolatæ ac pleniss[im]e, regi[ne] imperat[ricis] sacrosan[ct]e. Pro relictis profuturâ Christianis ac remedio oppressiônis inhumanæ. Cuius impressione precescitur cordib[us].*" Then follows a dedication to Queen Elizabeth, made up of scraps from the sacred writings, and from Titulus, Ovid and Juvenal; next, another to King James, entirely scriptural and in Latin verse. Afterwards we have a list of the author's works, which he divides into three columns, the first containing their titles, the second, the allowance and printing, and the third, patrons and benevolences. Among these is the following. "1577. A record of ancient Historyes intituled in Latin *Gesta Romanorum*, translated (successor ut repositior Johanne Laplando antiquario) by me perused corrected and beaured. Perused further by the warden of the stationers and printed first and last by Thomas East in

Although struck 5 times to this year: 1601<sup>6</sup>, cost 21 shill. Dedicated for 3 impressions to the R. Honorable Lady Margaret Countess of Lyncoln, who gave me for her books 12s. 6d. besides sale of 25 books. Dedicated last to the wisdoms of the Lettered men\*, who with others have given me 22s. Dedicated last of all years 1602 to D. Watson B. of Chichester and B. Almoner to the Queenes Majesty who, (not so thankful to me as I deserved) gave me but 1s. for my books dedicatory<sup>7</sup>. If Leland made any translation of the *Gesta*, it must have been that printed by Wynkyn de Worde, which

\* This seems a mistake for 1601.

<sup>6</sup> He had already stated himself a translator of these romances. Of this man little more is known than that he lived by his pen. He appears to have resided in a translation from *Strenuous* of an account of the civil wars in the Netherlands, published in 1602, by Thomas Churchyard, whom the dedication says that he was "a man more beloved by many than he named of any, so good parts were there in the pen."

<sup>7</sup> MS. Reg. 18, A. 1. 1. In 1674, Balcanquhall appears to have had a licence to print, upon revocation of *Historie* and *entertainment* applied for the subject and introduction. See Herbert's typeset, *intro.* p. 1022. This might have been the then intended title for the translation of *Gesta Romanorum*.



## 496 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

Robinson perhaps alludes to, when he says that he had perused detached and corrected the work; for it is very clear that the older translation in the Harleian manuscript was not known to him.

**MANUSCRIPTS.**—Of these many are still remaining. They are, in general, written during the reigns of the Fifth and Sixth Monarchs, though one or two appear to be as old as that of Richard the Second. As the work was a great favourite, many of the stories are found in some of those miscellaneous volumes, which, in all probability, constituted the private libraries of the monks. If these were carefully examined, there is no doubt that many might be added to the following, necessarily imperfect, list.

### OF THE HARLEIAN MUSEUM.

|    |                  |                           |
|----|------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | Harl. 205        | 17 ff contains 26 stories |
| 2. | 319              | ..... 16 stories          |
| 3. | 406              | ..... 17 stories          |
| 4. | 567A             | ..... 123 stories         |
| 5. | 511B             | ..... 81 stories          |
| 6. | 533B             | ..... 121 stories         |
| 7. | 535A             | ..... 63 stories          |
| 8. | Shew, 409        | ..... 54 stories          |
| 9. | Ed. Reg. & P. n. |                           |

# ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM. 407

## AT OXFORD.

10. Bodl. 1960. in B. 2, 10.
11. 2780. in MSS. sup. O. 1. Act. 17.
12. 2200. but query?
13. Coll. Linc. in shaping Co.
14. Magdal. 13.
15. do.
16. Ash. Sup. O. 21.
17. do. 40.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

18. Worcester Cathedral. 82.
19. Hereford Cathedral. 74.
20. MSS. Rob. Barrough, 81, in Cant. MSS. Anglon.
21. MSS. Synodus D. Eves, 120. Cant. MSS. Anglon.
22. Thom. Coll. Dublin, G. 128.
23. In the author's possession, 120 staves.
24. Dial. 20 staves.
25. Bodl. 14 staves.

PATRICK ELLIOTT.—It has been already stated that the Latin copy of this work has never been printed. The following are all translations into English, No. 1 may be that ascribed to Leiland; the rest are by Robinson.

1. No date, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, . . . .
2. 1477. T. East. From Robertus Exilestria, 12 staves.
3. 1492. T. East 11 staves. In the author's possession, Cantuar. 41 staves.

# 436 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

4. No date. B. Bishop. 12mo.
5. No date. Brevity. 12mo.
6. 1844. B. Bishop. 32mo. 44 stories.
7. 1865. J. B. for A. Cook. 12mo.
8. 1867. A. J. for A. Cook. 32mo. 48 stories.
9. 1874. E. Crook, for A. Cook. 12mo.
10. 1889. for T. Russell, for 12mo, 44 stories.
11. 1902. for E. Chivers. 12mo. The same as that of 1894.



DISSERTATION III.

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ON THE

ANCIENT ENGLISH

MORRIS DANCE.



A  
DISSERTATION  
ON THE  
ANCIENT ENGLISH  
MORRIS DANCE.

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It is the observation of an elegant writer, that *disquisitions concerning the manners and conduct of our species in early times, or indeed at any time, are always curious at least and amusing.* An investigation of the subject before us, if completely and successfully performed, would serve to fill up a chasm in the history of our popular antiquities : but this must not be expected. The culpable indifference of historical writers to private manners, and more especially to the recreations and amusements of the common people, has occasioned the difficulties that always attend enquiries of this nature, many of which are involved in impenetrable darkness ; while others

can only receive illustration from detached and scattered facts accompanied by judicious inferences and opinions.

It will be necessary in the first place, to attempt some definition of what the morris dance originally was: this may be best accomplished by the aid of etymology, which will generally be found a faithful guide, when managed with discretion. It seems, however, on the present occasion to have been too slightly treated in a work of considerable labour and ingenuity, the author of which has expressed an opinion that the Morris dance originated from that part of the ancient ceremony of the feast of fools, in which certain persons habited like buffoons, with bells, &c., joined in a dance. He then proceeds as follows, "The word *Morris* applied to the dance is usually derived from *Morisco*, which in the Spanish language signifies a *Moor*, as if the dance had been taken from the Moors; but I cannot help considering this as a mistake, for it appears to me that the *Morisco* or *Moor* dance is exceedingly different from the *morris*-dance formerly practised in this country; it being performed with the castanets or rattles, at the ends of the fingers, and not with bells attached to various

parts of the dress\*. I shall not pretend to investigate the derivation of the word *Morris*; though probably it might be found at home: it seems, however, to have been applied to the dance in modern times, and, I trust, long after the festival to which it originally belonged was done away and had nearly sunk into oblivion<sup>†</sup>."

Now if the term in question had been exclusively used in England, there would have been some weight in these observations; but when we find it adopted by most of the European nations to express a dance, the origin of which both English and foreign glossaries uniformly ascribe to the Moors, we must pause at least before we consent to abandon the only clue that presents itself to assist us. The genuine Moorish or Moroccan dance was, no doubt, very different from the European *morris*; but there is scarcely an instance in which a fashion or amusement that has been borrowed from a distant region has not in its progress through other countries undergone such alterations as have much obscured its origin. This remark may be exemplified in chess

\* This will hereafter appear to be a mistake.

† *Barrow's Sports and pastimes of the people of England*, p. 121.



and cards, which, beyond all doubt, were invented in India or China, and spread, by means of the Arabians, progressively throughout Spain, Italy, France, England, and the North of Europe. But the above writer has cited a passage from the play of *Forry*, 1648, in which the Spanish *Isabelle* is mentioned, and this not only shows the legitimacy of the term *moris*, but that the real and uncorrupted Moorish dance was to be found in Spain, where it still continues to delight both natives and strangers under the name of the *fandangos*. It may be likewise remarked, that the exquisitely pretty music to this lively dance is undoubtedly Moorish<sup>2</sup>. The Spanish *moris* was also danced at puppet-shows by a person habited like a Moor, with clogs, and Janes [De Jan] has informed us that the *moris* dancers usually blackened their faces with soot, that they might the better pass for Moors<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. of music*, vol. iv. 387. by Sir John Hawkins, who was clearly of opinion that the *moris* dance was derived from the Moors.

<sup>3</sup> *Etymologicon Anglicanum*. In further confirmation of the derivation of the *moris* dance, the following words may be added, *moriscas* a kind of grotesque painting, moustaches called *Andaluscas*, and used in comical and deriding. *Moriscas*, and *moriscas*, a gill with red

Some have sought the origin of the words in the Pyrrhiche *antistrophos* of the ancients, a military dance which seems to have been invented by the Greeks, and was afterwards adopted by the Galli or priests of Mars. This continued to be practised for many ages, till it became corrupted by figures and gradations foreign to its original purpose. Such a dance was that well known in France and Italy by the name of the dance of fools or *Moriscans*, who were habited in short jackets with gilt-paper helmets, long streamers tied to their shoulders, and bells to their legs. They carried in their hands a sword and buckler, with which they made a clashing noise, and performed various quick and sprightly evolutions<sup>2</sup>.

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in Spain by the Moors, and called in the ballads *Leira* of the fourteenth century *moriscas*. See Carpenter, *Suppl. ad gloss. Ducangii* p. *Moriscas*. *Morica* was, called *Morica* more was, in the Caroling of 1290, 1291, &c. To these the corresponding may perhaps be added. It is probable that the English terms *morris* and *morice* have been corrupted from *more*, the older and more genuine orthography.

<sup>2</sup> Tabernæ Geographie, 1482, lib. p. 37, where the several postures of this dance are described and represented. The Pyrrhic dance appears to have travelled from Greece into the North. See Olaus Magnus, *De gentilibus septentrionalibus*, lib. iv. c. 33, 34, 35, 36, 37.

A species of this sword dance by some means or other got introduced into England, where it has generally and unaccountably been exhibited by women, whose dangerous feats of tumbling and dancing with swords at fairs, and in the minor theatres, are still remembered by many persons<sup>1</sup>. A very learned writer, speaking of the *Pyrrhicæ æstivæ*, informs us, that "The common people in many parts of England still practice what they call a *Morrice dance*, in a wild manner, and as it were in antient, at proper intervals resting upon each others' staves, &c."<sup>2</sup> This might be found on enquiry to differ from the common morris, and to be a mixture of the old *Pyrrhicæ* and *Moorish* dances. Such a one may be alluded to in *The second part of King Henry the Sixth*, Act III. Sc. 1,

"..... I have seen him  
Caper upright like a wild *Morrice*,  
Holding the *Woody dais*, as he has told."

<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable that the same practice should be found in the island of Ceylon. Kuhn tells us that "A woman, whose two naked breasts, under each arm, and another she holds at her mouth, three *Arcturionæ* run and turn close over, and never touches the ground till she lifts in her foot again holding all her weight on it." *Hist. of Ceylon*, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Wood's *Enquiry concerning the first inhabitants, language, &c. of Europe*, p. 21.

Before we proceed to an examination of the more immediate object of this essay, the English morris, it may be as well to lay before the reader a short description of the uncorrupted morris dance, as practised in France about the beginning of the sixteenth century. It has been preserved by Tabourot, the oldest and by far the most authentic writer of any other on the art of dancing<sup>1</sup>. He relates, that in his youthful days it was the custom in good societies for a boy to come into the hall, when supper was finished, with his face blackened, his forehead bound with white or yellow taffeta, and bells tied to his legs. He then proceeded to dance the *Morice*, the whole length of the hall, backwards and forwards, to the great amusement of the company. He then

<sup>1</sup> Jean Tabourot, owner and collector of the cathedral of Langres, published his *Orchésographie et breuilaire forme de dialogue par lequel lesse personnes peuvent facilement apprendre et pratiquer l'honneur exercice des dances*, 1579, 4to, under the ungrammatical name of Thibaut Tabourot. He died in 1594, at the age of 60. His work is equally scarce and uncommon.

<sup>2</sup> But the French morris can be traced to a much earlier period. Among other instances of the antiquity of Morice Gilles de Bus, in 1486, morris dances are specified. Le Bouteux, *Hist. de Bretagne*, li. viij. In the account of Olivier de Bus, treasurer to Arthur III, Duke of Bretagne

that the bells might have been borrowed from the *crwth* of the natives in the Pyrrhic dance. He then describes the more modern morris dance, which was performed by striking the ground with the forepart of the foot; but, as this was found to be too fatiguing, the motion was afterwards confined to the heel, the toes being kept firm, by which means the dancer contrived to rattle his bells with more effect. He adds that this mode of dancing fell into disuse, as it was found to bring on gouty complaints. This is the air to which the last-mentioned morris was performed.



in 1687, in this style: "Il y a de bons danseurs qui jouent des phoebes et d'autres de morques et autres jeux devant le duc d'York, &c. 1688." In 1702. As a specimen that given by Gorton in *Fest. at Fountains* in 1620, "four young ladies and a chorrell moved like waves danced (by good direction) in modest *Alpines*, before

It has been supposed that the morris dance was first brought into England in the time of Edward the Third, when John of Gaunt returned from Spain<sup>b</sup>; but it is much more probable that we had it from our Gallic neighbours, or even from the Flemings. For if any vestige of it can be traced beyond the reign of Henry the Seventh, about which time, and particularly in that of Henry the Eighth, the churchwardens' accounts in several parishes afford materials that throw much light on the subject, and show that the morris dance made a very considerable figure in the parochial festivals. A late valuable writer has remarked that in some places the May games of Robin Hood were nothing more than a morris dance, in which Robin Hood, Little John, Moid Maypole, and Four Tuck, were the principal personages, the others being a clown or fool, the

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the masterly *Picture Theatre of London*, p. 111, and see Carpenter, *Suppl. to glossary Descriptions*, v. *Morlins*. Capellart, a French poet, who wrote about 1490, says that the French danced the *Morlins* to the tune of the drum, *Chantier*, p. 117.

<sup>b</sup> *Peck's Memoirs of Milton*, 131. What this writer has added on the subject of the morris dance is not very interesting; but he is extremely accurate in his explanation of *fox, cat, or was* &c. &c. &c.

hobby-horse, the tobacco, and the dancers, who were more or less numerous; but this seems to be a mistake. The May-games of Robin Hood appear to have been principally instituted for the encouragement of archery, and were generally accompanied by morris-dances, who, nevertheless, formed but a subordinate part of the ceremony. It is by no means clear that at any time Robin Hood and his companions were constant characters in the sports. There were, besides, May-games of a more simple nature, being merely dances round a May-pole, by the lads and lasses of the village, and the undisturbed remains of the Roman Floralia<sup>1</sup>. We find also that other festivals and ceremonies had their morris, as Holy-Thurs-day; the Whitmonday; the bride-day, or wedding<sup>2</sup>, and a sort of play or pageant called the lord of misrule. Shrovetide too had their morris dance<sup>3</sup>. The reader may be amused with the

<sup>1</sup> *Robin Hood's Merry Men*, l. 100.

<sup>2</sup> See particularly Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, p. 189, edit. 1596, 4to.

<sup>3</sup> In Leland's *Letter from Evesham to Ealingworth castle*, a bride-day is described, in which morris, a male of "a body blacke furred, according to the smallest manner of dancers, Mawdewomen, and the like."

<sup>4</sup> See Stowe's *Survey of London*, 1618, 4to, p. 161.

following account of the lord of morris, as it contains a description of an attendant morris. It has been fortunately handed down to us by a parliamentary writer of the reign of Elizabeth, whose loud railings against the fabulous excesses of his countrymen have contributed to furnish posterity with the completest information respecting a considerable portion of the manners and customs of the above period that is any where to be found. These are his words: "First, all the wilde heads of the parish, flocking together, chuse them a grained captaine (of mischief) whom they insable with the title of my Lord of morris, and him they crowne with great solemnitie, and adopt for their king. This king arrayed, chooseth foure or sixe, foure, three, seven or a hundred little yutes like to himselfe to waite upon his lordly caputy, and to garde his noble person. Then every one of these his men, he serveth with his sparies of greene, yellow, or some other light wanton coloure. And as though that were not (hardy) greedy enough, I should say, they bedecke themselves with scarfes, ribbons and laces hangd all over with golde rings, precious stones, and other jewels: this done, they do about either legge twende or foure hollen, with rich handkerchiefs in their



handles, and sometimes hide a cross over their shoulders and necks, borrowed for the most part of their profit *Alpeter* and loving *Ernie*, for blessing them in the dark. Thus all things set in order, then have they their hobby-horses, their dragons and other analques, together with their handle pipes, and thundering drummers, to strike up the *Devils Dance* withall: then march this heathen company towards the church and church-yard, their pipes piping, their drummers thundering, their stompes clattering, their bells jingling, their handkerchiefs fluttering about their heads like madde men, their hobble horses, and other monstous skirmishing amongst the dancing: and in this case they goe to the church (though the minister be at prayer or preaching,) dancing and twinging their handkerchiefs over their heads in the church like *Devils incarnate*, with such a confused noise, that no man can heare his owne voice. Then the foolish people they lookke, they stare, they laugh, they frowne, and stand upon formes and pews, to see these goodly pageants solemnized in this sort. Then after this about the church they goe againe and againe, and so forth into the church-yard, where they have commonly their summer houses, their bowres, arbours, and

banqueting houses set up, wherein they feast, banquet, and dance all that day, and (paradoxically) all that night too. And thus these terrestrial *fluries* spend the Sabbath day. Another sort of fantastical folks bring to these ballhouses (the Lord of misrule and his complices) some bread, some good ale, some new cheese, some old cheese, some cucumbers, some cracknels, some ekers, some flumens, some tarts, some crotons, some meat, some one thing, some another; but if they know that as often as they bringe any to the maintenance of these execrable pastimes, they offer sacrifice to the Devil and Satanus, they would repent and withdrawe their hands, which God grant they may.\* Another declaimer of the like kind, speaking of May games and morris dances, thus holds forth: "The abuses which are committed in your may-games are infinite. The first whereof is this, that you doe use to attyre in women apparell whom you doe most commonly call may-maides, whereby you infringe that straight commandment which is given in Deut. xiii. 4, that men must not put on womens apparell for feare of scornfulnes. Nay I myself have seen in a may game a troupe, the greater part whereof

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\* *Saunders's Anatomy of abuse*, p. 107.

both been men, and yet have they been stepped so like unto women, that theye faces being hidde (as they were indeede) a man could not discern them from women. The second abuse, which of all other is the greatest, is this, that it hath beene taught that your modest chaucers have danced naked in streets: what greater indecency unto naughtiness could have been devised? The third abuse is, that you (because you will loose no time) doe use commonly to come into woods in the night time, amongst middens, to let bowes, in as much as I have heard of some maidens which went to let May, and some of them came home with child<sup>4</sup>.” He seems likewise to allude to a character of the Devil in the May games, of which no mention is elsewhere made.

In the course of time these several recreations were blended together so as to become almost indistinguishable. It is however very certain that the May games of Robin Hood, accompanied with the morris, were at first a distinct ceremony

<sup>4</sup> Pottier’s *Diogenes* against light, dark, and black skin dancing, 1582, 1586, 1591 B 7. See a passage to the same purpose in Northwold’s *Tricke against dancing*, 1597, 4to, B. 2. 11.

from the simple morris, which about Warren lived, was celebrated about the season of Easter, and before the May games: he thus speaks of them,

"As Fools begin our Morrice, and our Festival our May."<sup>1</sup>

It is probable that when the practice of archery declined, the May games of *Robin Hood* were discontinued, and that the morris dance was transferred to the celebration of Whitmaside, either as connected with the Whitsun ales, or as a separate amusement. In the latter instance it appears to have retained one or two of the characters in the May games; but no uniformity was or possibly could be observed, as the arrangement would vary in different places according to the humour or convenience of the parties.

The painted glass window belonging to George Toller, Esq. at Boleap, in Staffordshire, exhibits, in all probability, the most curious as well as the oldest representation of an English May game and morris dance, that is any where to be found\*. The learned possessor of this curiosity, to whom the readers of Shakespeare are much indebted

<sup>1</sup> *Shakspeare's England*, 1676, p. 121.

\* *Barrow's Shakespeare*, at the end of the play of *King Henry 8<sup>th</sup>*, part I.

not only for this, but for many other valuable communications, has supposed that the window might have been painted in the youthful days of Henry the Eighth, when he delighted in May games; but it must be observed that the dresses and costume of some of the figures are certainly of an older period, and may, without much hazard, be pronounced to belong to the reign of Edward the Fourth. Among other proofs that could be adduced, it will be sufficient to compare it with the unexecuted print of another marble dance. This is a copy from an exceedingly scarce engraving on copper by Israel Von Meckeln, or Meckelen, so named from the place of his nativity, a German village on the confines of Flanders, in which latter country this artist appears chiefly to have resided; and therefore in most of his prints we may observe the Flemish costume of his time. From the pointed shoes that we see in one of the figures it must have been executed between the year 1465, and 1470; about which latter period the broad-toed shoe came into fashion in France and Flanders. It seems to have been intended as a pattern for goldsmith's work, probably a cup or tankard.

The artist, in a fancy representation of foliage, has introduced several figures belonging to a

Finnish May game masks consisting of the lady of the May, the fool, the piper, two main dancers with bells and costumes, and four other dancing characters, for which appropriate names will not easily be found. The similitude between some of the figures in this print and others in Mr. Tollström's window is very striking, and shows that the period of execution, as to both, was nearly the same. One objection to this opinion will, no doubt, present itself to the skillful observer, and that is the shape of the letters which form the inscription *A MAY DAY* on the piece of glass No. 8. These are comparatively modern, and cannot be carried further back than the time of Elizabeth; but this will be accounted for hereafter.

The above curious *peweeing* has furnished the means of ascertaining some of the personages of which the May games and morris consisted at the time of its execution. To trace their original forms and numbers, or the progressive changes they underwent, with any degree of accuracy, would be perhaps impossible, because not only the materials for such an attempt are extremely few, but a variety of circumstances contributed to constitute their difference even during the same period. Wherever we turn, nothing but

irregularly presents itself. Sometimes we have a lady of the May, singly, with a firer Tuck, and in later times a Maid Marian remained without even a Robin Hood or a friar. But consistency is not to be looked for on these occasions, when we find, as has been remarked, that the May games, those of Robin Hood, the ales, and the morris dances, were blended together as convenience or caprice happened to dictate\*.

The several characters that seem in more ancient times to have composed the May game and games were the following: Robin Hood, Little John, Firer Tuck, Maid Marian the queen or lady of the May, the fool, the piper, and several morris dancers habited, as it appears, in various

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\* There is a remarkable instance of the corruption that has been gradually introduced into popular customs, on the celebration of the goose-brood-fest, in which, formerly, Gop Tuck was unquestionably carried, in company with the Pope and the Devil, all of whom were afterwards assigned to the flames; whereas at present we have only the image of a fellow, or sometimes a real boy habited with gilded rags, rollers, and powdered perwig, under the appellation of *Firer Gop*, for whom the children seem to cheer chiefly. The Pope had been long discarded by profane men as an object of contempt, and the Devil is probably forgotten by some, or because an object of too much terror with which to be sported with.

media. Afterwards a hobby horse, and a dragon were added. To avoid the confusion, that might otherwise ensue, it will be best to speak of each character by itself.

I. **RABBIT HOCO.** The history of this celebrated surfer has been so ably and ingeniously treated by Mr. Rhema, and every fact that relates to him so minutely developed, that it will be long before any novelty shall be discovered of sufficient importance to deserve attention. It appears that in the May games he sometimes carried a pained student\*.

II. **LEVERE JOKE.** The faithful companion of Robin Hood, but of whom little that is not fabulous has been handed down to us. He is first mentioned, together with Robin Hood, by

\* *Chaucer's earliest account of Knapton, in Lysons's Remains of London, vol. i. p. 127.* The learned author of the interesting work has remarked that he had found no mention of Knapton, relating to the May games, after the 25, Feb., 17, but they certainly continued, as pointed out previously, in other places to a much later period. In the *downward-looking account of Great Britain* it appears that during the sixteenth century there were but no neighbouring games as late as 1589. See Langley's *discovery of Derwent*, 4to, 1798.



Faustus the Scottish historian, who wrote in the fourteenth century, and who speaks of the celebration of the story of these persons in the theatrical performances of his time, and of the numerous songs relating to them, which he says the common people preferred to all other romances<sup>2</sup>.

III. *FRIAR TUCK*. There is no very ancient mention of this person, whose history is very uncertain. Dryden has thus recorded him, among other companions of Robin Hood :

" Of that old merry friar which carry a sermon made  
In praise of Robin Hood, his ventures and their made."<sup>3</sup>

He is known to have formed one of the characters in the May games during the reign of Henry the Eighth, and had been probably introduced into them at a much earlier period. From the occurrence of this name on other occasions, there is good reason for supposing that it was a sort of generic appellation for any friar, and that it originated from the dress of the order, which was tucked or folded at the waist by means of a cord or girdle. Thus Chaucer, in his prologue to the *Canterbury tales*, says of the Reeve :

" Tucked he was, as is a foun shoute."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Faustus Scotichronicon*, 1792, 4to, tom. ii. p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> *Polydora*, song 1221.

And he describes one of the tricks in the Song-mour's tale:

"With crooked and kyped staff, played he,"

This line maintained his position in the morris under the reign of Elizabeth, being then mentioned in Warner's *Robin's England*:

"The Robin Hood, tell him, for Robin and Marian  
dally play."

but is not heard of afterwards. In Ben Jonson's *Masque of gypsies*, the clown takes notice of his confusion in the dance<sup>2</sup>.

IV. *MARR MARRION*. None of the materials that constitute the more authentic history of Robin Hood, prove the existence of such a character in the shape of his mistress. There is a pretty French pastoral drama of the sixteenth or twelfth century, entitled *Le jeu du berger et de la bergere*, in which the principal characters are Robin and Marion, a shepherd and shepherdess. Mr. Warner thought that our English Marion might be illustrated from this composition; but Mr. Kinsley is unwilling to assent to this opinion, on the ground that the French Robin and Marion "are not the

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<sup>2</sup> Ben Jonson's Works, 1751, vol. vi. p. 68.

Robin and Marian of Sharnwood." Yet Mr. Warton probably meant no more than that the name of Marian had been suggested from the above drama, which was a great favourite among the common people in France, and performed much about the season at which the May games were celebrated in England. The great intercourse between the countries might have been the means of imparting this name, amidst an infinite variety of other names; and there is indeed no other mode of accounting for the introduction of a name which never occurs in the page of English history\*. We have seen that

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\* *Marian*, or what is more frequently written *Maria*, is not formed, as some French writers have supposed, from *Mary* and *Anna*, but more probably from *Marianne* the wife of Phaul, whose name seems borrowed from that of *Miriam* (Mir: the prophetess, the sister of Aaron). *Miriam* is said to come from a Syriac word signifying *mother*, or from the name, *Pharisa*. The name of *Mary*, evidently extracted from *Miriam* or *Marianne*, does not occur till the time of the daughter of Jacobus and Anna, the mother of Christ, at which period we find other *Maries* in the New Testament. It is remarkable that *Maria*, from *Marian*, should not occur among the Roman names of women, in the manner as we have Julia, Cornelia, Fabia, Petronia, Valeria, &c., from Julia, Cornelia, Fabia, Petronia, and

the story of Robin Hood was, at a very early period, of a dramatic cast; and it was perfectly natural that a principal character should be transferred from one drama to another. It might be thought likewise that the English Robin deserved his Marian as well as the other. The circumstances of the French Marian being saved by a boy contributes to support the above opinion; the part of the English character having been personated, though not always, in the manner. Little, if any, stress can be laid on the authority of an old play cited by Mr. Stowson to prove that "Maid Marian was originally a name assumed by Matilda the daughter of Robert Lord Fitzwater, while Robin Hood remained in a state of outlawry".<sup>1</sup> This is rather to be considered as a dramatic fiction, designed to explain a character the origin of which had been long forgotten.

Maid Marian not only officiated as the pursuer of Robin Hood in the May games, but as the queen or *help of the May*, who seems to have

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<sup>1</sup> *Vindicia*. The historian and antiquary Edward Deyton, in the dedication to his *Ballads* cites an *Old Quene*, or *queen of May's Myrour*. He perhaps imagined that the merry dance had been suggested by the prophetess and her dancing women with their carols.

<sup>2</sup> *Stowson's History* vol. 226

been introduced long before the games of Robin Hood. In the Isle of Man they not only elected a queen of May, but likewise a queen of winter<sup>b</sup>. Gatherings for the May lady, as anciently for Robin Hood, were lately kept up at Cambridge, but in a corrupted form, the real occasion of this ceremony being, in all probability, quite unknown to the gatherers. There can be no doubt that the queen of the May is the legitimate representative of the Golden Flora in the Roman festival.

The introduction of Robin Hood into the celebration of May probably suggested the addition of a king or lord of the May. In the year 1506 Robert Beale caused himself to be crowned at Exeter, and a second time by the hands of his mistress, the adulterous wife of the earl of Devon, who changed his name to David. It is reported that he said to his own wife on this occasion, "Yesterday we were but earl and countess, to-day we are king and queen;" to which she replied, "True, you are now a summer king, but you may not chance to be a winter one." Matthew of Westminster has recorded this fact,

<sup>b</sup> Waldman's *History of the Isle of Man*, 1780, p. 58, where he has described the modifications between the queen

and Holleshead, who employ him, makes the lady say, that "she feared they should prove but as a summer king and queen, such as in country towns the young folks chase for sport to dance about may-poles." In 1547 there was a May game in Fenchurch-street, with a *Lord and Lady of the May*, and a morris dancer\*. Both these characters are introduced in a morris in Fletcher's play of *The two noble kinsmen*, Act III.; and, in the *Knight of the burning castle*, a gipsy's appearance personates a lord of the May dressed out in "scarves, feathers, and rings." He is made to deliver a speech from the conduit to the populace, of which this is a part :

"London, to thee I do present the merry month of May,  
 Let each new subject be content to hear me what I say:  
 For from the top of conduit-hill, as plainly may appear,  
 I will both tell my name to you, and whence I came  
 here  
 My name is May, by due descent, though not ignoble I,  
 Yet far inferior to the stock of generous quarry.  
 And by the common counsel of my fellows in the street,  
 With gilded staff, and crowned darts, the May-day here  
 I meet."

A lord and lady are still preserved in some places where the Whitsun dance continues to be

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\* See p. 1, *Rec. morris*, in 124

be celebrated, and perhaps in other months during the season of May.

To return to Maid Marian—she was usually dressed according to the fashion of the time, as we may collect from the figures of her in Mr. Tolson's window, and Isaac's engraving. In both the kirtle and petticoat are alike; and the pendent veil is supported by the hand. The English figure holds a flower, and has a fancy coronet as queen of the May. The other has apparently an apple in her hand, and her simple head dress is what was actually worn in the middle of the fifteenth century by queens and ladies of high rank. Samuel Riche, who wrote in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., inveighing against the foppery of men's apparel, customs, "And from whence cometh this wearing, and this unbouldering of long locks, this curiously that is used amongst men, in frizzling and curling of their haire, this gentlewoman-like standing hands, so bevelled and belaced, *fitter for Maid Marian in a Mayes dance, then for him that hath other that spirit or courage that should be in a gentleman*!"

It appears that the Lady of the May was some-

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\* The Works of the apt, 1633, 4to, p. 10

stones carried in procession on men's shoulders; for Stephen Bartram, speaking of the Pope and his consecrators, states that he is carried on the backs of four deacons, "after the manner of currying whytopot quonon in Western May games".<sup>1</sup> Her usual garb was clean and affluant.<sup>2</sup> Thus is the description of the family still in the royal gown, in the old ballad of *The mother of Mayfield*:

"And so they potted down towards the king a 3-4  
The merry old mother, with her hands on her side;  
Her wife, like Mad Marion did answer of their tale."

But although the May-baby was originally a character of some delicacy and importance, she appears to have afterwards declined in both respects. In the time of Elizabeth she was usually represented by some smooth-faced and effeminate youth.<sup>3</sup> Falstaff tells the ladies, that "for

<sup>1</sup> What these ladies exactly were is not easy to compute. Ford: Whytopot in old cooking was a kind of custard, made in a crust or dish with cream, eggs, pieces of apples, sugar, spices, and apples of a hole or somewhat baked. It is possible therefore that Mad Marion, being occasionally persecuted by a kitchen mother or cook woman, showed the tale of a whytopot queen.

<sup>2</sup> *Golden Age of the English Church*, 1823, tit. B. 102.

<sup>3</sup> *Thomas a Kempster on spiritual exercises*, sig. 22. 4.



renowned Maid Marian may be the Deputy's wife of the word to her," meaning perhaps that she was as masculine in her appearance as the country clown who persecuted Maid Marian: and in Fletcher's *Masque of the Pious Heretic*, Dorinda desires her brother to conduct himself with more gentleness towards his mistress, unless he would chuse to marry *Melissa the May lady*; another allusion to the degraded state of Maid Marian, who is here substituted to a vulgar drudge or scullion both in name and condition. But during the whole of her existence mirth and gaiety were her constant companions. The translator of *The Hospital of Incurable Fools*, 1600, 4to, speaking of Acro, the old woman who becomes mad on beholding her ugliness in a mirror, says that "one while shee could be as merrie as *Maid Marian*." Nor was this character, even in later times, uniformly vulgar. Every one will call to mind Nicholas Breton's pretty sonnet of *Phyllis and Corydon*, where the shepherdess,

"————— with garlands gay  
We made the Lady of the May."

V. THE FAUL. This character in the movie was the same, in point of dress, as the domestic

brilliant of his time. In Mr. Tollet's window he has additional bells tied to his arms and ankles as a morris dancer, but is, in other respects, the English fool of the fifteenth century. Yet the habit of this eccentric person was not the same in all countries, nor even uniform in the same country. Accordingly he is very differently accoutred in the Florentine print. He has a cap or hood with ass's ears, and a row of bells for the girth; in his left hand he carries a bundle, and over his right arm hangs a cloth or napkin. He wears behind what seems intended for a purse or wallet, with which the fool in the old German prints is generally exhibited. It is certain that there was only one fool in the morris; and therefore Mr. Stocross and Mr. Tollet have erred in supposing the figure No. 2, in the window to be the *Bavarian fool with the stick*. The former gentleman had apparently misconceived the following passage in Fletcher's *Two noble friends*,

" ————— and meet the fool,  
The *Bavarian*, with long tail and the long tool."

Here are not two fools described. The construction is, "next comes the fool, i. e. the *Bavarian fool*, &c." This might have been the effect

fool, and so denominated from his wearing a lili, in French *lucio*<sup>2</sup>, because he drevilled. Thus in *Beowulf*, *læt v.*, Deafus talks of a "dall dæmring fool." The tricks of the Bavarian, his yawling and barking like a dog, suggested perhaps by the conduct of Robert the Devil when disguised as a fool in his well known and once popular romance, were peculiar to the morris dance described in *The two noble six-men*, which has some other characters that seem to have been introduced for stage effect, and not to have belonged to the genuine morris. The tail was the lion tail that was sometimes worn by the morris fool; and the long fool will be best understood by referring to the cut of the shot in

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<sup>2</sup> *Lucio* or *lucio*, is from *lucio*, *spillo*. Hence the middle age Latin term for a fool, *lucio*. See *Diogenes Laertius*. This is a very plausible etymology, and might stand well enough by itself, but it must not be recorded that in some of the Northern languages *lucio* signifies a monkey or baboon. Whether *lucio*, who seems the only writer that has made use of the word, applied it to the fool in question on account of the monkey tricks that he played, remains to be ascertained! If we could discover the source of the character as a French, Dutch, or German morris of the time, some light might be thrown on the subject.

the genuine copy of the dance of drink usually, though improperly, ascribed to Holborn, and by reflecting on some peculiar properties and qualifications of the illicit character.

What Mr. Toller has termed a *hit* was in fact no uncommon part of the male dance in the thirteenth century. Some of the contemporary figures of the Beverley minstrels are so habited, as well as others in the representation of the *Whitman* etc. at *Circenester*<sup>1</sup>. Whatever character the supposed *Bastard* of the window was, he is also found in the print by Israel on the left hand of the *fool*, not only in the same habit, but with his hands and feet precisely in similar attitudes. There is no doubt that the morris dance was in some respects a sort of *choreus*; and Higgins, the English editor of Justin's *Annecdotes*, has actually translated the word *choreus* by "the morris dance".<sup>2</sup> In the character of some of the other characters of the morris dance, the exaggerations of the *fool* appear to have been increased,

<sup>1</sup> See Carter : *Specimens of ancient sculpture and painting*, vol. iv. pl. 416. Nos. 2 and 13, and pl. 1121.

<sup>2</sup> Edit. 1749, 1750, p. 299. See likewise the similar character in p. 281.

as we learn from Ben Jonson's *Entertainment at Alhambra*:

"But see the holy-kings a Regal,  
Fools, in mean beggary led,  
To supply his want with them  
And wear other ladies' gowns,  
You know how?"

Coryat relates that near Montreuil he saw "a *Flamantole* fool dightened like a fool, wearing a long coat, wherein there were many several pieces of cloth of divers colours, at the corners whereof there hang'd the tails of squirrels: he bestowed a little piece of plate, wherein was expressed the effigies of the Virgin Mary, upon every one that gave him money: for he begged money of all travellers for the benefice of the parish church".<sup>1</sup> The remnant of *The spiritual Quicke* has a merry fool with a fox's tail depending from his cap, and a sheep bell attached to his hinder parts. In the modern merry dance the fool is continued, but his real character and dress appear to have been long since forgotten. In some places he is called the *Squire*.

VI. THE FIERCE. Sometimes called Tom Piper, an obvious and necessary attendant on a merry,

<sup>1</sup> Coryat's *Crotolia*, 1611, 4to, p. 3.

and who requires very little illustration. Mr. Stevens has already referred to Dryden for the mention of him; and Spenser, in his third eclogue, speaking of the slaves of bad poets, observes that

" *The Poet makes us little melody ;*"

whence we are to infer that his music was not usually of the very best kind. The resemblance as to attitude and dress, between the figures of this character in Mr. Tollet's painting and the Flemish print, is remarkable. In both we have the sword and feather. What Mr. Tollet has termed his *silver shield* seems a mistake for the lower part or flap of his stomach.

VIII. THE HEART-FLOWER; of which the earliest vestige now remaining is in the painted window at Heding. It has been already observed that he was often omitted in the morning. During the reign of Elizabeth the Puritans made considerable havoc among the May-games, by their preachings and lectures. Poor Maid Marian was assimilated to the story of Babylon; John Tuck was deemed a remnant of Popery, and the Hobby-horse an impious and Pagan superstition; and they were at length most completely put to the rest as the grossest remains of religion. King James's book of sports restored the lady and the

hobby-horse; but during the summer-week they were again attacked by a new set of diseases; and together with the whole of the May festivities, the Whitsun-ale, &c., in many parts of England degraded. At the restoration they were once more revived<sup>10</sup>. The allusions to the customs of the Hobby-horse are frequent in the old plays, and the line

" For O, for O, the hobby horse is dead,"

is termed by Hamlet an *epitaph*, which Mr. Theobald supposed, with great probability, to have been satirical. The following extract from a

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<sup>10</sup> Yet, in the reign of Charles the Second, Thomas Hall, another prominent writer, published his *Paradoxes Flown, the Triumph of Hypocrites*, 1670, &c., in which, making a great deal of silly declamation against these ancient amusements, he maintains that " Popes are forward to give the people May games, and the Pope's holiness with night and moon keeps up his superstitious festivals as a game prop of his towering blasphemy." That " by these annual sports and annual feast-playing ways of vice, women, dancing, revelling, &c., he hath gained more souls, than by all the sermons and cruel persecutions that he could invent." He adds, " What a sad account will these libertines have to make, when the Lord shall demand of them, where wast thou such a night? why, my Lord, I was with the gamesters sitting, dancing May games, and where wast thou such a day? why, my Lord, I was drinking, dancing, debauching, revelling, whoring, gaming, &c."

scene in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Moor's* played, Act in. will best show the sentiments of the parkers on this occasion, and which the author has deservedly ridiculed:

Has.

Ready I will dance no more, 'tis most ridiculous,  
I find my wife's countenance now more serious,  
My inward wills, she else hath persecuted to me  
My safety, Ready, dole these sports, thou art thou'lt die,  
The heart of Holypoor I will never touch again,  
He gave a new prophesy, and he leav'd we know,  
The sons of Hynges and Gynges, in the wilderness.

Has.

We neighbours Ready, in your life again!  
Your soul moves, that is unsearch'd, neighbour,  
The Hilly-dance is a worthy Hilly-dance

Has.

The heart is no company, and a level heart,  
And yet at home by the Pope's much-knew,  
His master was the name of ignorance.

Has.

Colder than y'e'n, and thou wert a thousand colliers  
His master was no honest man, and a more of good credit,  
Does't any much-knew the Pope had a thou'nd of credit,  
And thy kind and cousin thou dost the heart.

Has.

I do tell thee and thy foot-dance too,  
And tell thee in thy dance, thou prophesy telling  
I find it in my countenance, and I dare speak it,  
Thou hast a cunning/both brought a strange upon it



Tha.

Will you dance no more, neighbour ?

Tha.

Ready as,

Carry the heart to his wife, I have someone'd him  
And all his works.

Some.

Shall the thirty-shave be kept then ?  
The hopeful Hallow-even, shall be for wonder'd !

Tha.

I say out as it,  
'Twas the dancing as brought in these shaves,  
They trouble 'gainst the church, the Devil calls they poles.

Some.

Take up your heart again, and geth him to go,  
And geth him handsearly, good neighbour Ready.

Tha.

I spit at him.

Some.

Spit in the house-fire, rather ?  
Then out-of-door yonder-singing shew, spit in his warning ?

Tha.

I spit again, and thus I run against him  
Against this heart, that equally's devotion,  
Wonder'd if I'll tell of murther.

Some.

I do face of him !  
Spit such another spit, by this heart rather,  
I'll make ye set a new point if your own shew,  
Take's up I say, and dance without more holding.

And dance as you were wont; you have been excellent,  
And are still but for this new society,  
And your wife's herself-brother, take up the Hobby-horse,  
Come, 'tis a thing that has lov'd with all thy heart, Humby,  
And wouldn't do still, but for the second time it breathes.  
You were not thus in the morning; take 't up I say,  
Do not deny, but do it: you know I am off-set  
And I know 'tis suit all these good fellows  
Should wait the coming of your useless potency;  
Choose whether you will dance, or have me execute;  
I'll clap your neck i' th' stocks, and then I'll make ye  
Dance a whole day, and dance with them at night too  
You must old dance well, must your old manners learn,  
And suddenly are you haw'd off that uncommon,  
This new hot hatch, borrowed from some heaven's lake,  
Have learned brother, or I'll so hit ye for't,  
Take it quickly up.

How.

I take my presentation,  
And thus I am deserv'dly bound to my brother.

The Hobby-horse was represented by a man equipped with as much pashboard as was sufficient to form the head and hinder parts of a horse, the quadrupedal defences being concealed by a long mantle or footcloth that nearly touched the ground. The performer on this occasion exerted all his skill in baroque horsemanship. In *Scapen's* play of *The woodpecker*, 1656, a miller personates the hobby-horse; and being angry that the mayor of the city is put in compe-

sion with him, exclaiming, " Let the major play the hobby-horse among his brethren, and he will, I hope our towns-hids cannot want a hobby-horse. Have I practis'd my reborn, my cawens, my prandens, my umbles, my false trams, my smooth umbles and Canterbury paces, and shall master major put me besides the hobby-horse? Have I borrowed the firehorse bells, his plumes and breeches, may I not have new shoes and knif'd, and shall the major put me besides the hobby-horse?"

Whoever happens to recollect the manner in which Mr. Boyer's troops in the *Entrevue* are exhibited on the stage, will have a tolerably correct notion of a morris hobby-horse. Additional remains of the Pyrrhic or sword dance are preserved in the dagger stick in the man's choker, which constituted one of the horn-pieces or leg-and-dangle tricks practised by this character, among which were the threading of a needle, and the transferring of an egg from one hand to the other, called by Ben. Jonson the *travels of the egg*.\* To the horse's mouth was suspended a bell for the purpose of gathering money from the spectators. In later times the foot appears to have

\* *Boyer was out of his humour, Act 5. Sc. 2.*

performed this office, as may be collected from Noddy's play of *Summer's last will and testament*, where this stage direction occurs, " Yet goes in and fetcheth out the Hobby-horse and the morrice-dancer who dance about." Yet then says, " About, about, lively, get your horse to it, reyna him harder, jolke him with your wand, sit fast, sit fast, man; *fish*, hold up your indie there." With Summers it made to say, " You friend with the hobby-horse, goe not too fast, for feare of wearing out my hoof's tyln-moon with your hob-taylor." Afterwards there enter three clownes and three maide, who dance the morrice, and at the same time sing the following song :

" Trip and goe, hosen and too,  
Up and downe, to and fro,  
From the terrace, to the gate,  
Two and two, let us walt,  
A maying, a maying,  
Lave hoke as gossyting,  
So merrily trip and goe."

Lord Orford in his catalogue of English engravures, under the article of Peter Stent, has described two paintings at Lord Fitzwilliam's on Richmond-green which came out of the old neighbouring palace. They were executed by Viscountess, about the end of the reign of James I., and

rabble view of the above palace; in one of these pictures a morris dance is introduced, consisting of seven figures, viz. a fool, a hobby-horse, a piper, a Maid Marian, and three other dancers, the rest of the figures being spectators. Of these the first four and one of the dancers are reduced in the stained glass from a tracing made by the late Captain Green. The fool has an inflated bladder or oil skin with a hole at the end of it, and with this he is collecting money. The piper is pretty much in his original state, but the hobby-horse wants the legendarian apparatus, and Maid Marian is not remarkable for the elegance of her person.

Dr. Plot, in his *History of Staffordshire*, p. 434, mentions that within memory, at Abbot's or Pagar's Bromley, they had a sort of sport which they celebrated at Christmas, or on new year and twelfth days, called the *Hobby-horse dance*, from a person who carried the image of a horse between his legs made of thin boards, and in his hand a bow and arrow. The latter passing through a hole in the bow, and stopping on a shoulder, made a snapping noise when drawn to and fro, keeping time with the music. With this man danced six others, carrying on their shoulders as many rein deer heads, with the arms

of the chief families to whom the revenues of the town belonged. They danced the boys and other country dances. To the above hobby-horn dance there belonged a pot, which was kept by turns by the wives of the town, who provided cakes and ale to put into this pot, all people who had any kindness for the good intent of the institution of the sport giving peace a place for themselves and families. Foreigners also that came to see it contributed; and the money, after defraying the expense of the cakes and ale, went to repair the church and support the poor; which charges, adds the doctor, are not now perhaps so cheerfully borne.

A short time before the revolution in France, the May games and morris dance were celebrated in many parts of that country, accompanied by a fool and a hobby-horn. The latter was termed an *eleveur*; and, if the authority of Minsheu be not questionable, the Spaniards had the same character under the name of *arriero*\*.

VIII. THE DRAGON. The earliest mention of him as a part of the morris dance we have already seen in the extract from Stedman's *Customs*

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\* Spanish dictionary.

of whom; and he is likewise introduced in a motto, in Sampson's play of the *Floure and the Leafe*, or *Myrrour of Gyltes*, 1633, where a fellow says, "I'll be a *fiery dragon*;" on which, another, who had undertaken the hobby-horse, observes that he will be "a *thundering Saint George* as ever rode on horseback." This seems to afford a clue to the use of this dragon, who was probably attacked in some ballad-manner by the hobby-horse man, and may perhaps be the *Devil* alluded to in the extract already given from *Fabianus's Dialogue against dancing*.

III. THE MORRIS DANCERS. By these are meant the common dancers in the late morries, and who were not distinguished by any particular appellation, though in earlier times it is probable that each individual had his separate title. If there were any reason for a contrary opinion, it might depend on the costume of numbers 10 and 11 in Mr. Taylor's window, which may perhaps belong to the present class. There are likewise two similar figures in the *Flourish* print, and the coincidence in their attitudes is no less remarkable than it is in those of some of the other characters. The circumstance too of one only wearing a feather in his hat is deserving of notice, as it is the same

in both the representations. The streamers which proceed from their sleeves and flutter in the wind, though continued in very modern times, were evidently not peculiar to morris dances, examples of them occurring in many old plays\*. In the reign of Henry the Eighth the morris dancers were dressed in gilt leather and silver paper, and sometimes in coats of white spangled fabric. They had purses at their girdles, and garters to which bells were attached†. The latter have been always a part of the furniture of the more active characters in the morris, and the use of them is of great antiquity. The striking ornaments of the feet among the Jewish women are reprobated in *Amos* iii. 14. 15. Claudius Falsanus, who wrote his poem on dancing in the time of Augustus, has alluded to the practice of dancing with bells on the feet among the Egyptian priests of Canopus, in the following lines :

" *Una spectata est uxor ad Botandis Iseu*

*Yulcani corpus ardet Iulia Canopi.*"

*Organiæ*, lib. i. 42.

There is good reason for believing that the

\* See the plate of morris coats, 1550, in Strutt's *Sports and pastimes*, where a dance of morris is shown in this manner.

† *Cherchez-moi* accounts of Egypt, in Lyne's *Reprints of London*, i. p. 317, 320.



music bells were borrowed from the goddess *Asteria* dance; a circumstance that tends to corroborate the opinion that has been already offered with respect to the etymology of the *marra*. Among the beautiful habits of various nations, published by Hans Weigel at Nuremberg, in 1577, there is the figure of an *Adrian* lady of the kingdom of *Fex* in the act of dancing, with bells at her feet. A copy of it is here exhibited.



The number of bells round each leg of the morris dancers amounted from twenty to forty\*. They had various appellations, as the fore-bell, the second bell, the treble, the tenor, the base, and the double bell. Sometimes they used trebles only; but these refinements were of later times†. The bells were occasionally jingled by the hands, or placed on the arms or wrists of the partner. Scarves, ribbands, and haws being all over with gold rings, and even precious stones, are also mentioned in the time of Elizabeth‡. The wiles, in the play of the *Pinkbreaker*, says he is come to borrow "a few ribbandes, bracelets, earrings, wytryens, and silke girdles and handkerchers for a morice and a shew before the quene."§ The handkerchiefs, or *napkins*¶ as they

\* *Balliol's Anatomy of dance*, 1611, supra.

† See Howley's *History of Elizabeth*, 1596, Act 1. Sc. 2.

‡ *Balliol*, *ibid.* supra. *Eight of the dancing party*, Act iv.

§ *Balliol*, *ibid.* supra. *James's Masque of games*. *Haines's Anatomy of dance*, book iv. p. 169, wherein the following cut has been borrowed, which, rude as it is, may serve to convey some idea of the manner in which the handkerchiefs were used.



are sometimes called, were held in the hand, or tied to the shoulder". In Shirley's *Lady of pleasure*, 1633, Act I. Jordan thus inveighs against the amusements of the country :

"unconcerned to chideen with what solemnity  
 They keep their wakes, and dance for puerile merrits,  
 How they become the merris, with whom balls  
 They sing all out. Whence also, and whence  
 Through merry merrits and merrits, all the Hobby  
 come  
 Tye, and the merris Martin does he'd to a golly,  
 Be kept for sports merris."

The only use of the feather in the hat appears both in Mr. Toller's window and the Finnish print; a fashion that was continued a long time afterwards\*. Sometimes the hat was decorated with a nosegay<sup>†</sup>, or with the herb chryth, formerly called our lady's cushion<sup>‡</sup>.

Enough has been said to show that the collection number of the merris dancers has continually varied according to circumstances, in the same manner as did their habits. In Israel's print

\* *English of the burning parish*, Act vi.

† *Piergrace*, 1633, p. 43.

‡ *Peasants's House pleased*, Act iv.

§ *Greenall's Quip for an unquiet country*, sigs. B. 1.

they are seen; in Mr. Tollet's window, shows Mr. Street has observed that on his street-front there are only five, exclusive of the two musicians, but it is conceived that what he sees so is not a morris, but a dance of fools. There is a pamphlet entitled, *Old May of Herefordshire for a Mayd Marian and Mayfest then for a morris dancier, or 12 morris dancers in Herefordshire of 1000 years old*, 1608, and,\* in the painting by Vinchenboorn, at Richmond, there are seven figures. In Bower's *Glossographia*, 1656, the *Morris* is defined, "a dance wherein there were usually five men and a boy dressed in a girls habit, whom they call *Maid Marian*." The morris in Fletcher's *The white Morrice* contains some characters, which, as

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\* This story is mentioned by Sir William Temple, in his Essay on health and long life, from the conversation of Lord Lovelace. Howell, in his *Party of Lewis*, 1680, has recorded that "of his years they were call'd out within three miles compare two men that were a thousand years between them, one supplying what the other wanted of a hundred years more, and they danced the morris dance Bower together in the market place with a woman before them 100 years old, and a maid *Marian* 150," p. 121. This seems to allude to the same story.

they are so where else to be found, might have been the poet's own invention, and designed for stage effect :

"The chambermaid, and serving men by night  
That can't see what hanging! They make best  
And let the spouse, that welcomes to sleep rest,  
The guiled travelling, and with a hushing  
Informs the spouse to welcome the well-beg  
Then the best-swing clowns, and next the fool,  
The Jesters, with long tail and the long tool,  
Can make silly, that make a clown."

Mr. Hutton has taken notice of an old wooden cut "preserved on the title of a penny-history, (*Adam Hall, &c.*) printed at Newcastle in 1775," and which represents, in his opinion, a morris dance consisting of the following personages : 1. A bishop. 2. Robin Hood. 3. The pinner or beggar. 4. Little John. 5. Friar Tuck. 6. Maid Marian. He remarks that the execution of the whole is too rude to merit a copy, a position that is not meant to be controverted ; but it is necessary to introduce the cut in this place for the purpose of correcting an error into which the above ingenious writer has inadvertently fallen. It is proper to mention that it originally appeared on the title page to the first *Assen*

edition of *Robin Hood's garland*, printed in 1636, 1644.



Now this cut is certainly not the representation of a morris dance, but merely of the principal characters belonging to the garland. Thus are, Robin Hood, Lady John, queen Catherine, the bishop, the curial friar, (not Tuck,) and the beggar. Even though it were admitted that Maid Marian and Friar Tuck were intended to be given, it could not be maintained that either the bishop or the beggar made part of a morris.

There still remain some characters in Mr. Tollet's window, of which no description can be here attempted, viz. Nos. 1, 4, 6, and 7. As these are also found in the Flemish print<sup>b</sup> they cannot possibly belong to Robin Hood's company; and therefore their learned propagator would, doubtless, have seen the necessity of re-considering his explanation<sup>c</sup>. The resemblance between the two ancient representations is sufficiently remarkable to warrant a conjecture that the window has been originally executed by some foreign artist; and that the points with the English filar, the hobby-horse, and the may-pole have been since added.

Mr. Waldron has informed us that he saw in the summer of 1783, at Richmond in Surrey, a troop of morris dancers from Abingdon, ac-

<sup>b</sup> Compare No. 1, with the left hand figure at bottom in the print; No. 4, with the left hand figure at top; No. 6, with the right hand figure at bottom; and No. 7, with the right hand figure at top. This last character in the Flemish print has a flower in his hat as well as No. 4. Query if that circumstance have been accidentally omitted by the English engraver?

<sup>c</sup> That gentleman's death is recorded to have happened Oct. 22d, 1779. Google's first usage is, 219.











Fig. 105. Five figures in traditional attire, possibly from a theatrical performance.

accompanied by a fool in a motley jacket, who carried in his hand a staff about two feet long, with a blown bladder at the end of it, with which he either cautioned the crowd to keep them at a proper distance from the dancers, or played tricks for the diversion of the spectators. The dancers and the fool were Berkshire husbandmen taking an annual circuit to collect money<sup>1</sup>. Mr. Kinson too has noticed that morris dancers are yet annually seen in Norfolk, and make their constant appearance in Lancashire. He has also preserved a newspaper article respecting some morris-dancers of Pendleton, who paid their annual visit to Salford, in 1792<sup>2</sup>; and a very few years since another company of this kind was seen at Uck in Massachusetts, which was attended by a boy Maid Marian, a hobby-horse, and a fool. They professed to have kept up the ceremony at that place for the last three hundred years. It has been thought worth while to record

<sup>1</sup> See his continuation to *Don Quixote's miscopied*, 1792, iv. p. 224, a work of very considerable merit, and which will universally stimulate the regret of all readers of taste that the original was left uncoloured.

<sup>2</sup> *British Museum*, I. viii.

488 ON THE MORRIS DANCE.

these modern institutions, because it is extremely probable that from the present rage for refinement and innovation, there will remain, in the course of a short time, but few vestiges of our popular customs and antiquities.



# INDEX.

"*Quoniam homines videmus vestire Martem, Juliam  
comparat, quibus istius habitus et illi quod prae-  
cipuus, comparat non debemus.*"

Cicero ad Atticum.

| A.                                                                                                            | Page          |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| <i>Alacranes</i> <i>Alacran</i> , account of a collection of these<br>quadr during the middle ages . . . . .  | 17            |
| —, <i>Alacran</i> , standard . . . . .                                                                        | 118           |
| <i>Alapine</i> , a conjecture on the derivation of this word . . . . .                                        | 388           |
| <i>Alachmann</i> , name of Shakespeare printed out . . . . .                                                  | 381           |
| <i>Alapin</i> , cracked . . . . .                                                                             | 388           |
| <i>Alapin-Norman</i> say . . . . .                                                                            | 318           |
| <i>Alapin</i> , his character whence borrowed . . . . .                                                       | 79            |
| <i>Alapin</i> <i>Alapin</i> , account of the source . . . . .                                                 | 132           |
| <i>Alapin</i> for <i>Alapin</i> , the economy observed in the<br>conduct of the company . . . . .             | L. 179        |
| <i>Alapin</i> or <i>Alapin</i> <i>Alapin</i> , the list of James I. and<br>Charles I. . . . .                 | 308, 309, 310 |
| <i>Alapin</i> <i>Alapin</i> , an article of Shakespeare in his play<br>of <i>The valiant Pishan</i> . . . . . | 301           |
| <i>Alapin</i> <i>Alapin</i> , account of a price copied from it . . . . .                                     | 32            |

*Archie, description of them* ..... 208

## B.

*Barchinensis de proprietatibus rerum*, account of this book ..... 129

*Barkish*, its fabulous property ..... 54

*Barkis*, the *fiat's*, description of circumstances of it ..... 112, 113

*Barkis*, *fiat* ..... 112

*Barnet*, *Guineo*, structure as a celebrated painting of his death ..... 20

*Barnes* and *Flashes*, new edition of their plays entitled for the poets ..... 281

*Barnes*, *psychic* nations respecting it ..... 89

*Bark*, meaning of the *hail* ..... 171

*Bark* and the *hail*, edge of the *epilogue* entitled ..... 18

*Bark* or *Barkish*, the *Reformation* ..... 130

——, a *hail* the *author* of the *Great Reformation* ..... 130

*Barkish*, an old work on natural history ..... 145, 146

*Barkish*, account of the English translation of his *Deception* ..... 136

*Bark*, the unknown use of it by *Shakespeare* ..... 120

*Barnes*, John, an old English preacher, his *Reformation* described ..... 137

*Barkish*, signs *anxiety* belonging to them described ..... 133

——, *jealous* employed in them ..... 13, 134

## C.

*Cadogan's* *complex*, a book used by *Shakespeare* ..... 118

*Cadogan*, in *The merchant of Venice*, remarks on *Cadogan*, a remarkable coincidence between a passage in the *author* and one in *Shakespeare* ..... 120

*Cadogan*, some remarks on his life of *Wesley* ..... 21

- Claret*, its character not definite ..... 341  
*Claret*, not the author of a character ascribed to him ..... 118, 338  
*Claretian*, popular, various ascriptions to them ..... 340  
*Charlton*, George, his account of the manner in which the Duke of Gloucester was put to death ..... 30  
*Chapman*, description of ..... 311  
*Chert*, the burning brand of Francis Newdike, a story relating to him ..... 363  
*Cherson*, tale of, the manner of his death ..... 37  
*Chipsdale*, his wife, upon Miss Astley ..... 33  
*Clark of Chatham*, in *King Henry the Sixth*, an unusual character ..... 34  
*Claws in old plays*, description of them ..... 323  
*—*, various remarks on ..... 32, 118, 124, 373, 393  
*See Food*  
*Claw with cracked edges*, handled by writers ..... 323  
*Claw's angle*, in case of writers, sometimes also served as claws ..... 3, 323  
*Claw*, a metal stud used to commemorate that which appeared on the death of Fulke Clere ..... 33  
*Clawed*, improperly used for *clawed* ..... 3  
*Claws drawn*, account of them ..... 323  
*Clawed's tail*, account of the origin of the expression ..... 19  
*Claws*, their conduct satirized by Shakespeare ..... 324  
*Clay*, a various expression from him ..... 30  
*Clayey plays*, no extract from any of them ..... 345  
*Clay in Shakespeare*, a simile was assumed ..... 124  
*Clawing*, account of this calling instrument ..... 323  
*Claws of the sea*, the color as called described ..... 123



|                                              |     |
|----------------------------------------------|-----|
| Coping stone, illustration of that custom    | 13  |
| Cock Party, an idea so called                | 108 |
| Cupid, his golden shaft                      | 173 |
| Cymbeline, remarks on the story of this play | 199 |

## D.

|                                                                                                     |          |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| Daphnaster, a work by Hesiodus, in which Demetrius is alluded to                                    | 242, 259 |
| Dance, formerly remarkable for hard drinking                                                        | 218      |
| Dance and the July, old representations of                                                          | 258      |
| Dariusians, given of at the time of Elizabeth                                                       | 408      |
| Deacon, whose story of the laughter in Paradise were afterwards supposed to have been the origin of | 126      |
| Deeds marked by medals, account of these                                                            | 4        |
| Dejan, a character in the comic drama                                                               | 173      |
| Devoing house, formerly called by Hesiodus, &c.                                                     | 154      |
| Drinking party with hoops, explained                                                                | 33       |
| Due is in the rules, an old proverbial phrase                                                       | 140      |

## E.

|                                                                                                                            |         |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| Ege at our time, remarks on this expression                                                                                | 47      |
| Ephesus                                                                                                                    | 262     |
| Ephesus                                                                                                                    | 262     |
| Ephesus                                                                                                                    | 262     |
| Elizabeth Queen, a compliment to her                                                                                       | 45      |
| Eliza, some comparisons by her subject                                                                                     | 245     |
| Elysium of Hesiodus, a measure which is supposed to have furnished a material subject in the story of Demetrius and Juliet | 250     |
| Empire, whence the name borrowed by Shakespeare, and given, how the Greeks expelled them from the empire                   | 100, 50 |

## F.

|                                                                            |                  |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| <i>Fair lady of Warwick</i> , origin of a curious story re-<br>lated ..... | 329              |
| <i>Famous Doctor</i> , a mistake is a name by him pointed out .....        | 420              |
| <i>Faul</i> , Charles the First's .....                                    | 308              |
| <i>City and imposture</i> .....                                            | 354              |
| <i>Count</i> .....                                                         | 308              |
| <i>Demost</i> .....                                                        | 304, 305         |
| <i>Duke of Münster's</i> , story of his .....                              | 313              |
| <i>Duke of Norfolk's</i> .....                                             | 350              |
| <i>Fairies</i> .....                                                       | 354              |
| <i>Fountain's</i> .....                                                    | 185              |
| <i>In trouble</i> .....                                                    | 32, 321          |
| <i>In church doors at home</i> .....                                       | 300              |
| <i>In the gardens and meadows</i> .....                                    | 304              |
| <i>Lord Mordaunt</i> .....                                                 | 340              |
| <i>Learn the Thackeray's</i> .....                                         | 313              |
| <i>Morra</i> .....                                                         | 305, 306         |
| <i>Mumchank's</i> .....                                                    | 304              |
| <i>Paper</i> .....                                                         | 305              |
| <i>Prerogative relating to him explained</i> .....                         | 114              |
| <i>See Thomas More's</i> .....                                             | 340              |
| <i>Stays, his office</i> .....                                             | 311, 328         |
| <i>Story of a Welsh one</i> .....                                          | 110              |
| <i>Swampy's</i> .....                                                      | 32, 324          |
| <i>Threat</i> .....                                                        | 304              |
| <i>Various accounts as the character</i> 32, 110, .....                    | 150,<br>323, 326 |
| <i>Whore, the</i> .....                                                    | 324              |
| <i>William the Conqueror</i> .....                                         | 307              |
| <i>Faul's</i> , <i>Barth</i> .....                                         | 310              |
| <i>Cockatoo</i> .....                                                      | 312              |

|                                                                                                   |                         |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Fate's, Combat with Death</i> . . . . .                                                        | 132                     |
| —, <i>Deed</i> . . . . .                                                                          | 115, 211                |
| —, <i>General mode of behaviour</i> . . . . .                                                     | 211                     |
| —, <i>Penchant</i> . . . . .                                                                      | 212                     |
| <i>Fate, pre-eminence of theme in Shakespeare's plays</i> . . . . .                               | 237                     |
| —, <i>Their decline</i> . . . . .                                                                 | 228, 232                |
| <i>See Chance</i>                                                                                 |                         |
| <i>Fathoming, origin of the story of the sentence</i> . . . . .                                   | 131                     |
| <i>Fate's, how won by labor in the reign of Edw. I.</i> . . . .                                   | 223                     |
| <i>Faint songs and ballads</i> . . . . .                                                          | 214, 215, 222           |
| <i>Four Acts and four Richard, a curious story as related</i> . . . . .                           | 135, 171                |
| <i>Fair Task, origin of his name</i> . . . . .                                                    | 439                     |
| <i>Federal feast, borrowed from the statute</i> . . . . .                                         | 266                     |
| <i>G.</i> . . . .                                                                                 |                         |
| <i>Geniality, who were as formerly</i> . . . . .                                                  | 195, 201, 217           |
| <i>Gen. Romanus</i> . . . . .                                                                     | 138, 139, 140, 141, 142 |
| —, <i>Analysis of a work under the name</i> . . . . .                                             |                         |
| <i>' composed in England</i> . . . . .                                                            | 269                     |
| —, <i>Especially concerning its authors</i> . . . . .                                             |                         |
| 142, 410 . . . . .                                                                                | 412                     |
| —, <i>Manuscripts of it</i> . . . . .                                                             | 268, 269, 410           |
| —, <i>Printed editions of it</i> . . . . .                                                        | 410, 411, 412           |
| —, <i>Quotations, manuscript whether com-</i><br><i>posed in England</i> . . . . .                | 268                     |
| —, <i>Shows from it used in the paper as</i><br><i>allusions to modernize the words</i> . . . . . | 212, 249                |
| —, <i>Translations of it</i> . . . . .                                                            | 269, 411, 412           |
| —, <i>Two works under the name</i> . . . . .                                                      | 138                     |
| <i>Ghosts, dream</i> . . . . .                                                                    | 262                     |
| —, <i>Reasons for their appearing</i> . . . . .                                                   | 262                     |
| —, <i>Why exclusively addressed by relation</i> . . . . .                                         | 262                     |

|                                                                                                                                                                                       |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Clack</i> , <i>Why will he fast</i> . . . . .                                                                                                                                      | 212 |
| —, <i>Why they disappeared at the doors of day</i> . . . . .                                                                                                                          | 224 |
| <i>Clu</i> , a corruption of <i>Joze</i> . . . . .                                                                                                                                    | 262 |
| <i>Clunensis</i> , duke of, denounces accounts of his death . . . . .                                                                                                                 | 25  |
| <i>Cruar</i> , supposed to have translated the <i>Cluic An-</i><br><i>noisium</i> into English . . . . .                                                                              | 412 |
| <i>Cruar</i> , when this tale was first told . . . . .                                                                                                                                | 42  |
| <i>Cryp</i> , Mr., borrowed from <i>Halapoun</i> . . . . .                                                                                                                            | 40  |
| <i>Green eyes</i> , how sometimes formerly first at present . . . . .                                                                                                                 | 294 |
| <i>Green shoes</i> , some account of an old tale as related . . . . .                                                                                                                 | 225 |
| <i>Guels of Cilmar</i> , the <i>Troy</i> book not an original work<br>as usually supposed, but borrowed from <i>Joze</i><br>de <i>Joze</i> <i>Joze</i> a Norman French poet . . . . . | 66  |
| <i>Qualities of Joze</i> , singular tale borrowed on him<br>and . . . . .                                                                                                             | 242 |
| <i>Gay Joze</i> , how treated by the modern poets . . . . .                                                                                                                           | 448 |
| H.                                                                                                                                                                                    |     |
| <i>Haidie</i> , alluded to in the tale of <i>Halapoun</i> . . . . .                                                                                                                   | 264 |
| —, Enigmatical speech by him explained . . . . .                                                                                                                                      | 224 |
| —, His children . . . . .                                                                                                                                                             | 226 |
| <i>Halapoun</i> made of <i>Joze</i> as a person a <i>Joze</i> , explanation<br>of the phrase . . . . .                                                                                | 177 |
| <i>Hart</i> , the sort of courage among the ancients . . . . .                                                                                                                        | 42  |
| <i>Harts and harts</i> . . . . .                                                                                                                                                      | 272 |
| <i>Haidie</i> . . . . .                                                                                                                                                               | 226 |
| <i>Haidie</i> , alluded to by <i>Halapoun</i> . . . . .                                                                                                                               | 264 |
| <i>Haidie Joze</i> , a personified expression relating to H . . . . .                                                                                                                 | 424 |
| <i>Haidie</i> , account of his character in the old romance . . . . .                                                                                                                 | 226 |
| <i>Haidie Joze</i> , a character in the <i>Joze Joze</i> . . . . .                                                                                                                    | 424 |
| <i>Joze de Joze Joze</i> , some tales and tales ascribed<br>to him . . . . .                                                                                                          | 242 |
| <i>Joze</i> , Mr., a regular mistake by him . . . . .                                                                                                                                 | 28  |



|                                                                                                                                               |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Lachrye says, remarks on them</i> .....                                                                                                    | 118 |
| ————, <i>Spectators of</i> .....                                                                                                              | 118 |
| <i>Lepidus, monk of Story, supposed to have been inter-</i><br><i>viewed in an English translation of the Great</i><br><i>Romanorum</i> ..... | 423 |
| <i>Lying or Lying face, an ancient custom</i> .....                                                                                           | 348 |

## M.

|                                                                                                |          |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| <i>Mad Madam, her character in the comedies has been</i><br><i>noticed</i> .....               | 418      |
| <i>Magdy, when first used in a title by travellers</i> .....                                   | 12       |
| <i>Mai, how expressed in the Chinese language</i> .....                                        | 100      |
| <i>Manuscript, account of a beautiful one</i> .....                                            | 102      |
| <i>Mars, God of Love XIII. obep of him</i> .....                                               | 113      |
| <i>Mars, derivation of the name</i> .....                                                      | 453      |
| <i>Mémoires de France, a title written by her</i> .....                                        | 168      |
| <i>Marshall, John, some account of him</i> .....                                               | 188      |
| <i>Mary, when the name first used</i> .....                                                    | 421      |
| <i>Maypole, representation of ancient</i> .....                                                | 179      |
| <i>Medicine, name of</i> .....                                                                 | 634      |
| <i>My power</i> .....                                                                          | 479, 414 |
| ————, <i>received by the Patriarch</i> .....                                                   | 408      |
| <i>My lady</i> .....                                                                           | 413      |
| <i>Manners for manners, a story resembling its plot</i> .....                                  | 277      |
| <i>Merchant, particular application of the word in the</i><br><i>time of Shakespeare</i> ..... | 165      |
| <i>Metals, ancient prejudice against the barren of it</i> .....                                | 116      |
| <i>Mineral of the North, a Devil symbol by which</i> .....                                     | 8        |
| <i>Mischievous, the ancient manner of retaining them</i> .....                                 | 38       |
| <i>Mysticisms, a mistake by him pointed out</i> .....                                          | 108      |
| <i>Mystery, English accident at one</i> .....                                                  | 100      |

|                                                                                            |          |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| <i>Meadowcroft</i> , the practice of adding them to various works is better than . . . . . | 343      |
| <i>Meadowcroft</i> , character of which it was composed . . . .                            | 448      |
| Believed to be of it described . . . . .                                                   | 449      |
| Etymology of . . . . .                                                                     | 453      |
| French . . . . .                                                                           | 462, 473 |
| Music to a French one . . . . .                                                            | 478      |
| Origin of . . . . .                                                                        | 482      |
| Representations of it described 443, 445, 453                                              |          |
| When first introduced into England . . . .                                                 | 479      |
| <i>Meadowcroft</i> , described . . . . .                                                   | 479      |
| <i>Meadowcroft</i> , text of Charles L. . . . .                                            | 508      |

## N.

|                                                               |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Noble</i> , a story from the <i>London story</i> . . . . . | 48  |
| <i>Norman drinking song</i> . . . . .                         | 114 |
| <i>North</i> , meaning of the, a bird or called . . . . .     | 8   |

## O.

|                                                                                           |          |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| <i>Orator</i> , included in the <i>Great Remembrance</i> for two of his stories . . . . . | 195, 429 |
| Supposed to have introduced the <i>Great Remembrance</i> into England . . . . .           | 429      |
| <i>Orator</i> , his idea and title . . . . .                                              | 195      |
| Specimens of them . . . . .                                                               | 194      |
| <i>Orator</i> , date of; amount of his power . . . . .                                    | 194      |
| <i>Orator</i> , his Manuscript described . . . . .                                        | 193      |

## P.

|                                                                                                     |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Panegyric</i> , their exact description . . . . .                                                | 204 |
| <i>Panegyric</i> 's formal dinner, a book probably used by the author of <i>Panegyric</i> . . . . . | 205 |

|                                                                                                           |          |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| <i>Perles, William, quotations from his classical character of the world</i> .....                        | 11, 187  |
| <i>Perseus, a different weapon from the pike</i> .....                                                    | 28       |
| <i>Perseus, the son of the Thunder God</i> .....                                                          | 158      |
| <i>Perseus' jar</i> .....                                                                                 | 162      |
| <i>Perseus, son, a Welsh tale, story of him</i> .....                                                     | 168      |
| <i>Perseus, account of</i> .....                                                                          | 179      |
| <i>Perseus, the story of the play entitled</i> .....                                                      | 178      |
| <i>Perseus and Andromeda, account of scene in representing the story of it</i> .....                      | 87       |
| <i>Perseus's lance, a subplot on it</i> .....                                                             | 84       |
| <i>Pleasant jar</i> .....                                                                                 | 162      |
| <i>Playing of horses' names, a representation subject, explained</i> .....                                | 189      |
| <i>Plays, account for three stage interpolations</i> .....                                                | 85       |
| <i>Four Ten, hints for dividing the character on the stage</i> .....                                      | 154      |
| <i>Preachers, account of entitled</i> .....                                                               | 284      |
| ———, Their custom of introducing stories into their sermons .....                                         | 226      |
| <i>Prevents, old poem explained</i> .....                                                                 | 114, 168 |
| <i>Preventive, account of</i> .....                                                                       | 142      |
| <i>Prick, Dr. Johnson's mistake in his opinion concerning the usage of this classical character</i> ..... | 281      |

## Q.

|                                         |    |
|-----------------------------------------|----|
| <i>Quail-fighting, account of</i> ..... | 80 |
|-----------------------------------------|----|

## R.

|                                                           |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Rand le Pere, account of the history of Troy</i> ..... | 82  |
| <i>Ranget, to make men wear the laurel</i> .....          | 174 |
| <i>Rash, caused by wishes</i> .....                       | 95  |



|                                                                                                              |     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Requied the far</i> , when the romance was composed . . .                                                 | 147 |
| <i>Richard III.</i> , his deficiency . . . . .                                                               | 18  |
| <i>Rydals</i> , their occasional introduction into modern re-<br>mains . . . . .                             | 121 |
| <i>Sadness</i> , life, a mistake by him corrected . . . . .                                                  | 128 |
| <i>Robert Rank</i> , the blind fool of Earl Essex's March . .                                                | 100 |
| <i>Robinson, Richard</i> , prince of his deficiencies . . . . .                                              | 121 |
| romances, some curious words by him spoiled . . . .                                                          | 121 |
| <i>Rome</i> , presentation of the warlike Shakespeare's term .                                               | 11  |
| <i>Rome and Juliet</i> , the original story of the play has<br>arised in part from a Greek romance . . . . . | 158 |
| <i>Romany</i> , he ran at Lincoln . . . . .                                                                  | 158 |
| <i>Rose of France</i> . . . . .                                                                              | 142 |
| <i>Rose</i> , his edition of Shakespeare curious for the poets .                                             | 181 |

## S.

|                                                                                                              |          |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| <i>Sadness</i> , <i>Shirley</i> , his Deficiency . . . . .                                                   | 142, 158 |
| <i>Sadness</i> comes the better, explanation of the phrase .                                                 | 12       |
| <i>Sadness</i> with manner, the Gode Romances included<br>to it . . . . .                                    | 177, 181 |
| <i>Shakespeare</i> , his correct knowledge of the commonness<br>belonging to the British church . . . . .    | 18       |
| his metaphors often curious and confused .                                                                   | 80       |
| intended by Fletcher . . . . .                                                                               | 101, 114 |
| the spirit's opinion of his plays full of<br>typographical errors . . . . .                                  | 141      |
| <i>Shells in beauty</i> , comparison on their single . . . .                                                 | 158      |
| <i>Ship of fools</i> , by French, cited . . . . .                                                            | 120      |
| English prose translation of it by Watson .                                                                  | 140      |
| <i>Shirley</i> , the Philip, represented the custom of intro-<br>ducing fools on the stage . . . . .         | 100      |
| <i>the Souders</i> , an incident in one of the stories in the<br>Gode Romances, borrowed from that romance . | 171      |

|                                                                                                     |                         |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Salmon's judgment, shows a mixture of</i> . . . . .                                              | 267                     |
| <i>Sam, W<sup>m</sup>, portrait of him described</i> . . . . .                                      | 25, 128                 |
| <i>Sam, W<sup>m</sup>, his manner speaks to world's soul</i> . . . .                                | 122                     |
| <i>Sarge, called</i> . . . . .                                                                      | 114, 152, 153, 214, 265 |
| <i>Shaw as earnest reader, expression of sympathy</i> . .                                           | 154                     |
| <i>Shaw, a celebrated list</i> . . . . .                                                            | 240                     |
| <i>Shaw, repetitions relating to them</i> . . . . .                                                 | 161, 214                |
| <i>Shelton, J<sup>h</sup>, his pointing of Cleaver's plumes</i> . . .                               | 293                     |
| <i>Shells at the shipyard, explanation of the phrase</i> .                                          | 29                      |
| <i>Shanks, how looked formerly</i> . . . . .                                                        | 254                     |
| <i>Shaw's opinion much, what the name has to do with</i><br><i>express with variation</i> . . . . . | 152                     |
| <i>Shaw, receiving by it</i> . . . . .                                                              | 252                     |
| <i>Shaw's designs, some account of the work he</i><br><i>did</i> . . . . .                          | 156                     |

## T.

|                                                                                                                                                             |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Table beds, description of those used in Shakespeare's</i><br><i>time</i> . . . . .                                                                      | 217 |
| <i>Talbot, the richest vessel on shore</i> . . . . .                                                                                                        | 417 |
| <i>That's famous, means so called that were supposed</i><br><i>to control the action of the final</i> . . . . .                                             | 215 |
| <i>Thackeray, repetitions relating to it</i> . . . . .                                                                                                      | 93  |
| <i>Thaw of Athens, his speech</i> . . . . .                                                                                                                 | 79  |
| <i>Thiel, J<sup>h</sup>, remarks on his custom putting on place</i><br><i>of a more dress</i> . . . . .                                                     | 442 |
| <i>Tom Piper, a character in the same dance</i> . . . .                                                                                                     | 401 |
| <i>Torch-burner at masque, account of</i> . . . . .                                                                                                         | 179 |
| <i>Tristram's Lament, a riddle from that romance</i> . .                                                                                                    | 121 |
| <i>Troika and Cossack, the origin of their name explained</i>                                                                                               | 64  |
| <i>Troy, the names of its gates borrowed by Shakespeare</i><br><i>from Homer's account of destruction of Troy,</i><br><i>and not from Lydgate</i> . . . . . | 21  |

|                                                                      |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| <i>Trey</i> , the usage of it a frequent subject on old poetry ..... | 81 |
| <i>Twey</i> , an ancient game at cards explained .....               | 87 |

## U.

|                                                                         |          |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| <i>Usher</i> , some of these practices described .....                  | 215      |
| <i>Uxbridge</i> , a prison so called at Thame .....                     | 247      |
| <i>Uxbridge</i> , various of showing amongst .....                      | 212      |
| <i>Uxbridge and Green</i> , some notions of this manner specified ..... | 240      |
| <i>Ux</i> , an ancient theatrical character .....                       | 208, 230 |
| <i>Uxell's post</i> , some account of it .....                          | 282      |

## W.

|                                                                                          |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Wales</i> , <i>2d.</i> , character of its History of English poetry .....             | 216 |
| <i>Wald</i> , the origin and meaning of the word .....                                   | 206 |
| <i>Wald food</i> , explained .....                                                       | 218 |
| <i>Wales</i> , historical <i>Filixius and Green</i> , and <i>The ship of fools</i> ..... | 232 |
| <i>Wald, Mr.</i> , his erroneous account of <i>wald food</i> .....                       | 218 |
| <i>Wald's</i> , some account of .....                                                    | 218 |
| <i>Wald's</i> culture, probably used by the author of <i>Forbes</i> .....                | 238 |
| <i>Wald the better</i> , a <i>Wald food</i> .....                                        | 210 |
| <i>Wald</i> , an image relating to it .....                                              | 221 |
| <i>Wald</i> , formerly made in England .....                                             | 218 |
| <i>Wald's and Green</i> , a story from that work .....                                   | 239 |
| <i>Wald, Oswald</i> , remarks upon him .....                                             | 82  |
| ....., improperly concerned for placing a merchant's hat on his coat .....               | 45  |
| ....., Shakespeare's allusion to a strategical king by him .....                         | 45  |

## E.

*Exposition of Ephraim*, a romance written by him supposed to have been used by the author of the story of *Samson and Delilah* ..... [138](#)

*Two of the incidents in his Ephraim written as Cybeleian* ..... [139](#)

## F.

*Ferdinand, monarch of the North*, a David rendered by *wisdom* ..... [3](#)





Idle ..... 181  
 Impertinency ..... 182  
 Insuper'd ..... 81

I. n.

Landen's book ..... 181  
 Lullaby ..... 111  
 Lusty young men ..... 177

ML.

Majesty ..... 13  
 Mingle ..... 250  
 Misch ..... 818  
 Mixture ..... 13  
 Mysterion ..... 42

N.

Naples ..... 59  
 Nave ..... 56

O.

Old's picture ..... 128  
 Ours ..... 82

P.

Pastor ..... 50  
 Peltous ..... 54  
 Pervous ..... 518  
 Pylod ..... 553  
 Pylorich ..... 553

P. n.

P. n. ..... 1  
 Pervousness ..... 551

R.

Rang'd ..... 80  
 Recorder ..... 140  
 Reins ..... 81  
 Reiter ..... 140  
 Ropy ..... 181

Rope-tricks ..... 180  
 Rouse ..... 203  
 Ruckback ..... 108  
 Rummy's eyes ..... 119

S.

Sadness ..... 88  
 Saint George to love ..... 89  
 Saint George to thrive ..... 89  
 Sallet ..... 55  
 Salt ..... 177  
 Saw ..... 100  
 Silver-sword ..... 181  
 Skater-sword ..... 180  
 Sops' the mountains ..... 182  
 Straight ..... 181

T.

Though ..... 119  
 Thro' lamp'd ..... 49  
 Tib ..... 119  
 Tightly-past ..... 13  
 To borrow ..... 49  
 To loose ..... 10  
 Tost' good ..... 180

U.

U ..... 80  
 U ..... 111

W.

Wandering ..... 62  
 Winter-ground ..... 100  
 Wooden prints ..... 140  
 Wound ..... 81

Y.

York ..... 808

# ERRATA.

## VOL. I.

- Page 176, line 1, for "all meanings," read meanings in general.  
 186, line 4, for "gird" read gear.  
 186, line 18, for "girdy," read gear.  
 191, line 17, for "staid," read steady.

## VOL. II.

- 176, line 9, delete "at"  
 176, line 18, for "hardened" read harden.

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